

THE QUARTERLY OF THE  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES  
IN PALESTINE

VOLUME I. NO. 1

JERUSALEM  
PUBLISHED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF  
PALESTINE BY HUMPHREY MILFORD  
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# THE QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES

## INTRODUCTION

THE issue of a periodical at, it is hoped, quarterly intervals is among the activities which, thanks to the generous assistance of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., the Department of Antiquities is now able to initiate.

The main purpose is to publish (*a*) any discoveries resulting either from excavations carried out by the Department, or from other methods of research, or that come to light in a more accidental manner in the course of the Department's ordinary administrative work; (*b*) notes upon such antiquities in the Department's Museum, or elsewhere in Palestine, as have not already been published; (*c*) texts and translations of texts describing historic monuments and sites; (*d*) general news of archaeological work in Palestine.

E. T. R.

## CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

### *Note on a recent discovery.*

IN the course of work begun during the autumn of last year, with the object of preserving the carved panels covering the lintels over the entrances to the church, the following came to light.

The panel over the right-hand (blocked up) entrance consists of three slabs of marble; each slab is 0.67 m. deep and varies in thickness from 0.05 m. to 0.07 m. The lengths are as follows: right-hand slab at top 1.23 m., at bottom 1.26 m. Left-hand slab at top 1.32 m., at bottom 1.36 m. Middle slab at top 1.19 m., at bottom 1.125 m. Thus the middle slab is cut in the form of a keystone, i.e. with sloping sides, and its neighbours, on either hand, are shaped accordingly.

The back of the right-hand slab (the face of which is illustrated in Pl. I, fig. 1) was found to be carved, see Pl. I, fig. 2.

The date of the carving upon the face of the slab falls probably between 1150 and 1180.<sup>1</sup> In the opinion of the writer the carving upon the back of the slab may be dated somewhere between the Fatimid occupation of Jerusalem in the last third of the tenth century and the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders at the end of the eleventh. Dr. S. Flury, to whom a photograph of the carving was sent, and who was good enough to give his opinion, states that, had the slab been found in Cairo, he would attribute it to the tenth century; but that a provincial carver might still be producing work of this character in the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup>

E. T. R.

<sup>1</sup> Vincent et Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Vol. II, p. 152; and de Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to compare, in its general lines, the design of this panel with the Byzantine panel illustrated in Diehl's *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, Vol. I, p. 457.



FIG. 1. CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—RIGHT LINTEL, RIGHT END



FIG. 2. CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—RIGHT LINTEL, BACK



## NOTE ON A CEMETERY AT KARM AL-SHAikh, JERUSALEM

THE site known as Karm al-Shaikh is situated about 40 metres north of the north-east corner of the City wall. It is referred to by Clermont-Ganneau, who gives an account of some tomb-chambers he examined on this site.<sup>1</sup> He had intended, he says, to resume exploration later on, but adds 'our other labours unfortunately gave me no leisure to do so'. He believed that these tombs 'may have an important bearing upon the question, still awaiting solution, of the third wall of the City'. He added:<sup>2</sup> 'whatever their age may be these sepulchres . . . are worth clearing out; perhaps one might find, if not an inscription, at all events some characteristic object which would enable one to decide the period to which they belong.'

The new Palestine Archaeological Museum is now being built upon this site. During the course of excavating for the foundations it was necessary to clear and to examine a number of tombs. The following is a short summary of the discoveries. The tombs were of three categories: (a) rectangular rock-cut graves; (b) caves; and (c) rock-cut chambers. Of these, 68 rock-cut graves, 5 caves, and 4 rock-cut chambers were cleared.

Fig. 1 gives a plan of the site and the positions of these tombs.

The rock-cut graves were rectangular in shape, measuring, on the average, 1.80 m. long, 0.50 m. wide, and 2.00 m. deep. The majority ran either from north to south or from east to west. Fig. 2 gives a plan and section of rock-cut Grave No. 3. This grave may be taken as typical of this category. In this grave, and at a depth of 1.40 m., bones were found huddled together in the west end of the grave. Under these bones were stone slabs resting upon ledges. Beneath these was a skeleton with the skull at the west end of the grave. Round the skull were found the objects illustrated on Plate I.

In Grave No. 19 the stone slabs that, in other graves, occurred usually at a depth of about 1.50 m. were found immediately beneath the surface of the ground, thus leaving almost the full depth (about 1.80 m.) for burials. In this grave were found nine skeletons and the objects illustrated on Plate III.

Grave No. 55 was exceptionally long, 2.35 m., 0.70 m. wide, and 2.00 m. deep. It contained, beneath the stone slabs, two skeletons.

The presence of bones above the stone slabs in some of the graves, as, for

<sup>1</sup> Charles Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, translated for the Palestine Exploration Fund by Aubrey Stewart, Vol. I, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

example, in No. 3, suggests the possibility of a practice similar to the modern Greek Orthodox custom of burying the eldest son in his father's grave. On opening the grave the father's bones are collected, and placed, in a linen sheet, over the son's coffin, and wine is poured over the bones of the father.

With the exception of Nos. 19 and 55 the rest of the graves were similar to No. 3 above described. The objects found in them are illustrated on the Plates.

The five caves are marked A, B, C, D, and F, see Fig. 1. As is seen on the plan, A, B, C, and D communicate with one another.

The objects illustrated on Plates IX, X, and XIV were found in caves B and F. Cave B contained twenty-six skulls, and other parts of skeletons were found scattered on the floor of the cave.

The four rock-cut chambers are marked E, G, H, and J on Fig. 1. In chamber E (Fig. 3) were seven rock-sunk graves. Access to the chamber was given by a rectangular opening in the roof (1.50 m. long, and 0.60 m. wide). This opening was covered with three slabs. Plates X and XIV illustrate the objects found in this chamber.

Chamber G (Fig. 4) had two entrances: one to the south measuring 0.40 m. by 0.50 m.; the other, a circular one, of 0.50 m. in diameter, in the roof. In this chamber a coin of Arcadius was found. The other objects discovered in this chamber are illustrated on Plate VIII.

Chamber H (Fig. 5) had one entrance, measuring 0.40 m. by 0.50 m., on the north side. In it were three rock-sunk graves fitted with stone slabs. For contents see Plates XI and XIII.

One sarcophagus was discovered (Plate XVIII). Its box is 1.97 m. long, 0.63 m. wide, and 0.70 m. high; its lid is 0.31 m. high. It contained two skeletons and four gold ear-rings (see Plate XVIII).

Surface finds are illustrated on Plates XIII and XIV. The inscribed stones illustrated on Plate XIV appear to be tombstones.

The first is inscribed ΚΑΝ ΔΙΔ ΟC in three lines; and the second is fragmentary.

A summary of the coins found is given on p. 6; they are all of bronze and, as isolated specimens, comparatively unimportant; but taken collectively they may give some idea of the extent to which the site was used at different times.

Two coins date from the end of the second century B.C. Six coins belong to the middle of the first century A.D. Then there are only three coins covering about a century and a half, from the victory of Titus in A.D. 70 to the beginning of the third century A.D. The period from the middle of the

third century to the end of the fourth is covered by twelve coins, the fifth century by two (or possibly three), and the sixth century by six or seven coins. For the twelve centuries separating the Arab conquest from the present day there are only thirteen coins (Mamluk, Crusader, and recent).

Though the number of coins found on this site during the clearance of the surface soil and the examination of the burials is relatively small, it is of interest to note that the number of coins belonging to each of the periods indicated roughly corresponds, in proportion, to the numbers traceable to the same periods in the list of coins found during excavations in the Tyropoeon Valley, Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> during 1927. D. C. B.

<sup>1</sup> Published in the Palestine Exploration Fund Annual, No. 5 (1929) by J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. FitzGerald.

# SUMMARY OF COINS FOUND

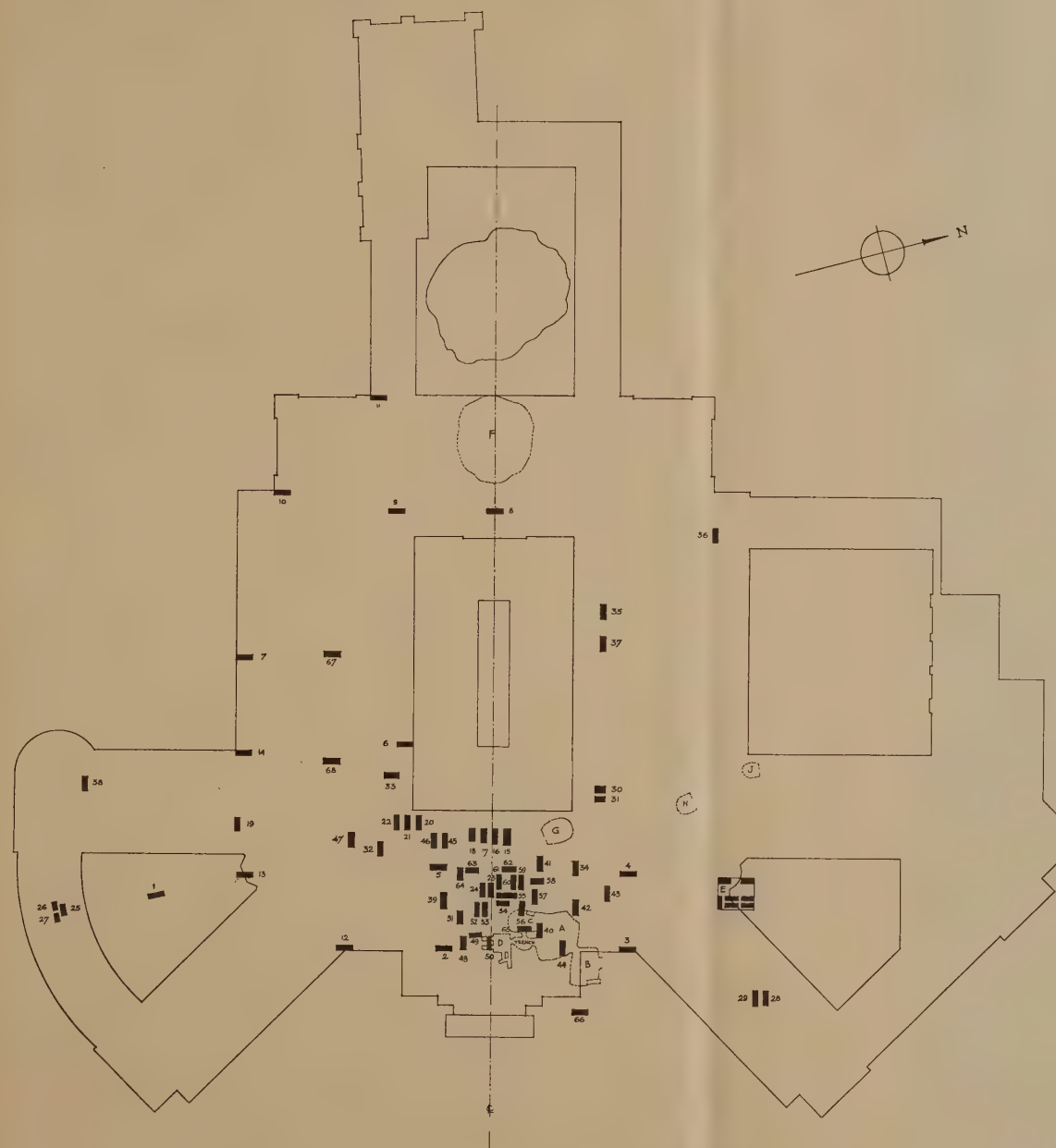
| Diameter<br>(mm). | Obverse.                                                                                                                              | Reverse.                                                                                                                                                                           | Provenance.   | Notes.                                                           |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 6                 |                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                    |               |                                                                  |
| 19                | Winged and draped bust of Eros<br>r. crowned with myrtle;<br>dotted border.                                                           | Head-dress of Isis; on r. (2 lines)<br>and l. (1 line) inscr.:<br>[BA]ΣΙΑΕ[ΩΣ] ANTIOX[OY]<br>EYEPΓETOY in ex.: [Θ]OP<br>(year 179, Seleucid era); in field<br>l., monogram: $\Phi$ | Cave F.       | I 34-I 33 B.C.                                                   |
| 16                | Anchor; around: [BA]ΣΙΑΕ<br>[ΩΣΑΛ] --- dotted border.<br>(B.M.C. <i>Palestine</i> , p. 207,<br>Series F.)                             | Wheel, with eight spokes; inscr.<br>between spokes (illegible).                                                                                                                    | Cave A.       | Alexander Jannaeus. 103-76 B.C.                                  |
| 15                | Lituus; around: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ---<br>dotted border.                                                                                        | Wreath containing: ΛΙΖ (year 17<br>of Tiberius); dotted border.                                                                                                                    | Surface soil. | A.D. 30-I. A coin of the Pro-<br>curator Pontius Pilatus.        |
| 17                | As preceding coin.                                                                                                                    | Figure standing to front, within a<br>wreath; inscr. (if any) illegible;<br>dotted border.                                                                                         | Cave A.       | Thick fabric (? Herodian).<br>1st century A.D.                   |
| 16                | Male head r. (almost obliterated)<br>no inscr.; dotted border.                                                                        | Vine-leaf and tendril; inscr.:<br>---XQΞ dotted border.                                                                                                                            | Surface soil. | First revolt of the Jews. A.D.<br>67-8.                          |
| 18                | Narrow-necked amphora;<br>inscr.: $\alpha\lambda\omega\alpha\lambda\omega\alpha\lambda\omega$ (שנה)<br>שנים - year 2); dotted border. | City-goddess standing l.; at her<br>feet on l. an altar; in field r. a<br>dove and date: ΕΙΕ (year 215 of<br>Ascalon); inscr. on r. illegible;<br>dotted border.                   | Surface soil. |                                                                  |
| 16                | As preceding coin.                                                                                                                    | Traces of a female bust r.                                                                                                                                                         | Cave F.       |                                                                  |
| 23                | Bust of Trajan r. laureate;<br>inscr. illegible; dotted border.                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                    | Cave B.       | A.D. 111-12. Struck at Ascalon.                                  |
| 21                | Bust of an emperor r. laureate;<br>(much worn).                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                    | Surface soil. | Possibly a coin of Hadrian struck<br>in Arabia. 2nd century A.D. |

|    |                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                             |                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 20 | Bust of Elagabalus r. laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; around:<br>IMPCMAVPANTWNI -<br>dotted border. | Founder ploughing r.; above: PETM; in ex.: COLON dotted border.                                             | Surface soil.            | A.D. 218-22. Coin of a colony founded by Elagabalus; attributed by de Saulcy to Petra in Arabia, but this attribution has been considered improbable, the coins always being found in Palestine, generally in Jerusalem. (See B.M.C. <i>Arabia</i> , p. xxxviii.) |
| 20 | Bust of Claudius (II) Gothicus r. draped; around:<br>-- AVDIVSAVG                                               | Equity standing l. holding in r. hand a balance and in l. cornucopiae; around:<br>AE[QVIT]ASAVG             | Cave B.                  | A.D. 268-70.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 21 | Bust of Aurelian r. radiate; around:<br>- CAVRELIANVSAVG                                                        | Bust of Vabalathus r. laureate; around:<br>VABALATHVSVCRIMDR                                                | Surface soil.            | Struck probably at Antioch by the Palmyrene ruler Vabalathus in the earlier part of the reign of Valerian. (A.D. 270-75.)                                                                                                                                         |
| 20 | Bust of an emperor r. radiate; illegible.                                                                       | Type (obliterated) in wreath.                                                                               | Surface soil.            | Probably early to middle 3rd century A.D.                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 22 | Bust of Philip Junior (?) r. wearing paludamentum and cuirass; illegible.                                       | Type indistinct (apparently Mount Gerizim supported by an eagle).                                           | Cave B.                  | Possibly a coin of Neapolis. Middle of the 3rd century A.D.                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 24 | Traces of (female?) bust r. with oval countermark containing a small male head.                                 | Traces of bust of Sarapis r.; inscr. obliterated.                                                           | Chamber E.               | Probably middle of the 3rd century A.D.                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 22 | Type obliterated.                                                                                               | Traces of figure standing;<br>-- VTA --                                                                     | Chamber J.               | End of 3rd century A.D. (Similar to Antoniniani of Gallienus.)                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 21 | Bust of Constantine r. laureate; around:<br>IMPCONSTANTINVS . AVG                                               | Sol, radiate, standing to front, r. hand raised, in l. a globe; around:<br>SOLINVI CTOCOMITI in<br>ex.: TES | Chamber H,<br>Grave III. | A.D. 307-37. Struck at Thessalonica.                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

| <i>Diameter<br/>(mm).</i> | <i>Obverse.</i> | <i>Reverse.</i>                                                              | <i>Provenience.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                     | <i>Notes.</i>                                                      |
|---------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ∞                         | 15              | Bust of an emperor r. laureate;<br>illegible.                                | Soldier advancing r. with head<br>turned to l. holding a spear in l.<br>hand and dragging a small cap-<br>tive with r.                                                                                  | Surface soil.<br>Middle of the 4th century A.D.                    |
|                           | 16              | Bust of an emperor r. laureate;<br>illegible.                                | Emperor spearing a fallen enemy.                                                                                                                                                                        | Chamber G,<br>Grave II.<br>Middle of the 4th century A.D.          |
|                           | 15              | Bust of an emperor r. laureate;<br>illegible.                                | Emperor spearing a fallen enemy;<br>[F]ELTEM --                                                                                                                                                         | Surface soil.<br>Middle of the 4th century A.D.                    |
|                           | 17              | Bust of Constantius II (?) r.<br>laureate; illegible.                        | Emperor spearing a fallen enemy.<br>FEL[TEMP]REPARATIO                                                                                                                                                  | Surface soil.<br>Middle of the 4th century A.D.                    |
|                           | 18              | Bust of Arcadius r. laureate;<br>around: DNARCADI --                         | Type indistinct; apparently a male<br>figure in military habit, standing<br>r., resting r. hand on a spear and<br>looking towards Victory advanc-<br>ing l. to crown him; around:<br>VIRTUS [EXERCIT..] | Chamber G,<br>Grave IV.<br>A.D. 395-408.                           |
|                           | 14              | Bust of an emperor r. laureate;<br>illegible.                                | Traces of a figure standing l.<br>(winged or holding a shield?)                                                                                                                                         | Surface soil.<br>Late 4th or early 5th century<br>A.D.             |
|                           | 14              | Type obliterated.                                                            | Victory advancing l.; illegible<br>except in ex.: ANTΔ                                                                                                                                                  | Surface soil.<br>5th century A.D.                                  |
|                           | 10              | Bust of an emperor wearing<br>diadem in early Byzantine<br>style; illegible. | Standing figure (? Victory—head<br>and wings obscure); in field r.<br>uncertain object (? crown) rest-<br>ing on the ground.                                                                            | Grave 51.<br>Late 5th or, more probably,<br>early 6th century A.D. |

FIG. 1

PLAN SHOWING POSITION OF GRAVES, CHAMBERS AND  
CAVES, AND THE AREA (OUTLINED) TO BE OCCUPIED  
BY THE PALESTINE ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM



SCALE 1:200

1 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20 25 30 METRES



PLAN SHOWING DETAILS  
OF GRAVE 3 AND CHAMBERS 'E', 'G' AND 'H'

FIG. 2

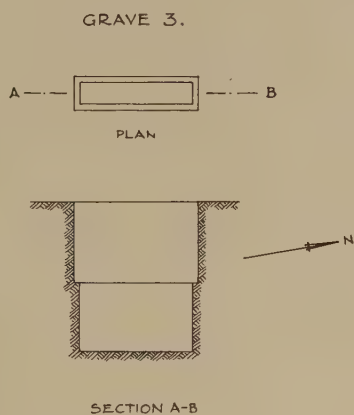


FIG. 4

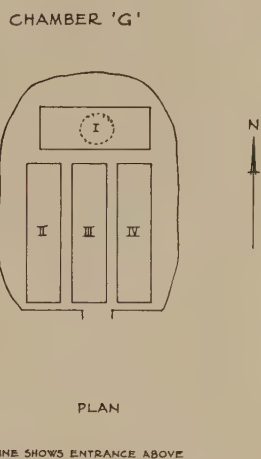


FIG. 3

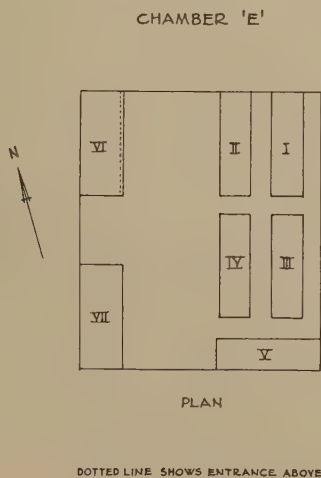
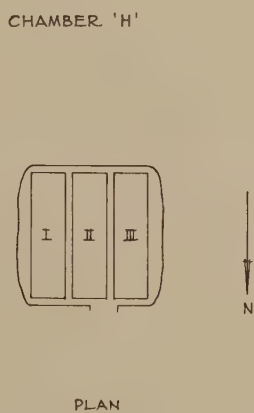
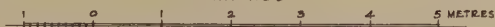
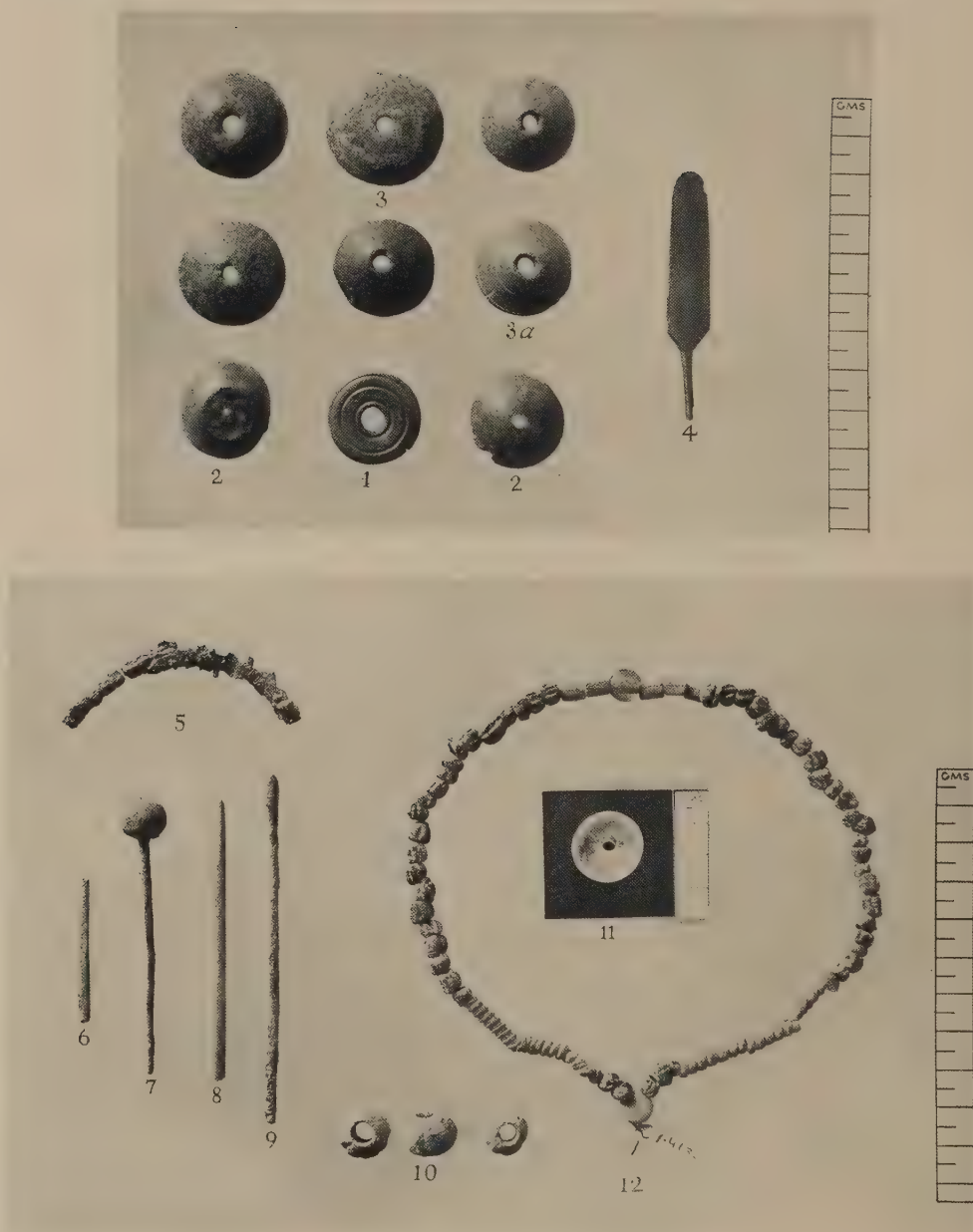


FIG. 5

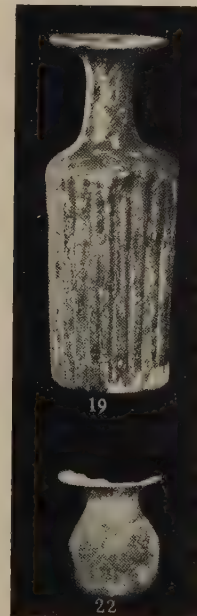
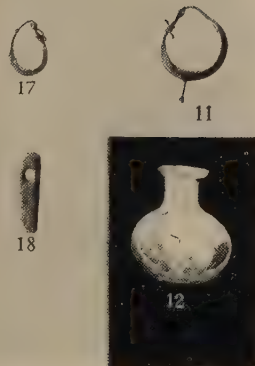
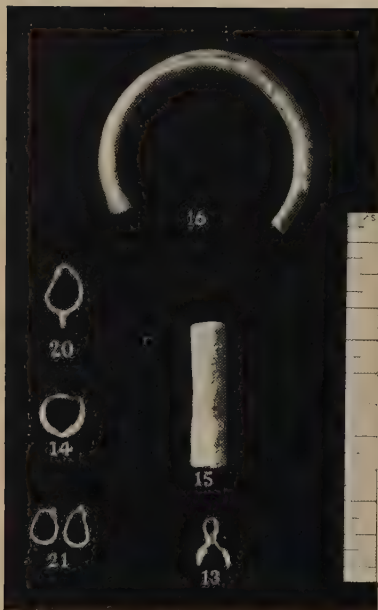


SCALE 1:50

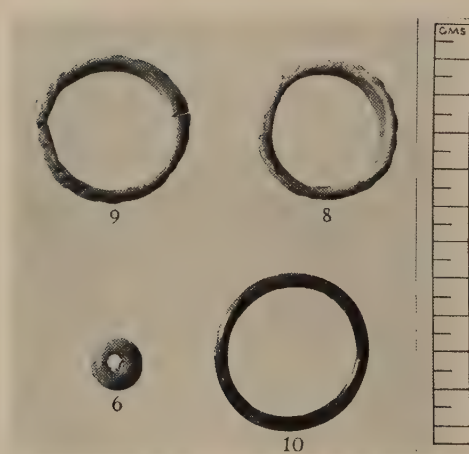




*Contents of Grave 3:* (1) Bronze lower case for buttons (3). (2) Bronze upper cases for buttons (3). (3) Five grey diorite buttons and one (3 a) in brown stone. (4) Bronze spatula. (5) Fragments of an iron ring. (6) and (8) Fragments of ivory pins. (7) and (9) Bronze pins. (10) to (12) Glass beads of various colours.



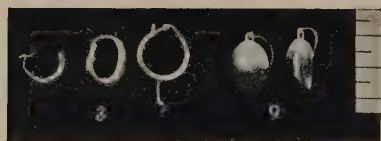
Contents of Grave 14: (1) Scarab. (2) Carnelian bead. (3) Cowrie shell with lead cover. (4) to (6) Glass beads. (7) Three lead rings. (8) Two bronze bracelets. (9) Gold necklace. (10) Gold ear-ring. Grave 12: (11) Gold ear-ring. Grave 6: (12) Glass bottle. (13) Bronze fibula. (14) Gold ear-ring. (15) Bronze tube. (16) Fragment of glass bracelet. Grave 13: (17) Gold ear-ring. (18) Head of an ivory needle. (19) Purple glass bottle. Grave 42: (20) and (21) Gold ear-rings. (22) Glass bottle.



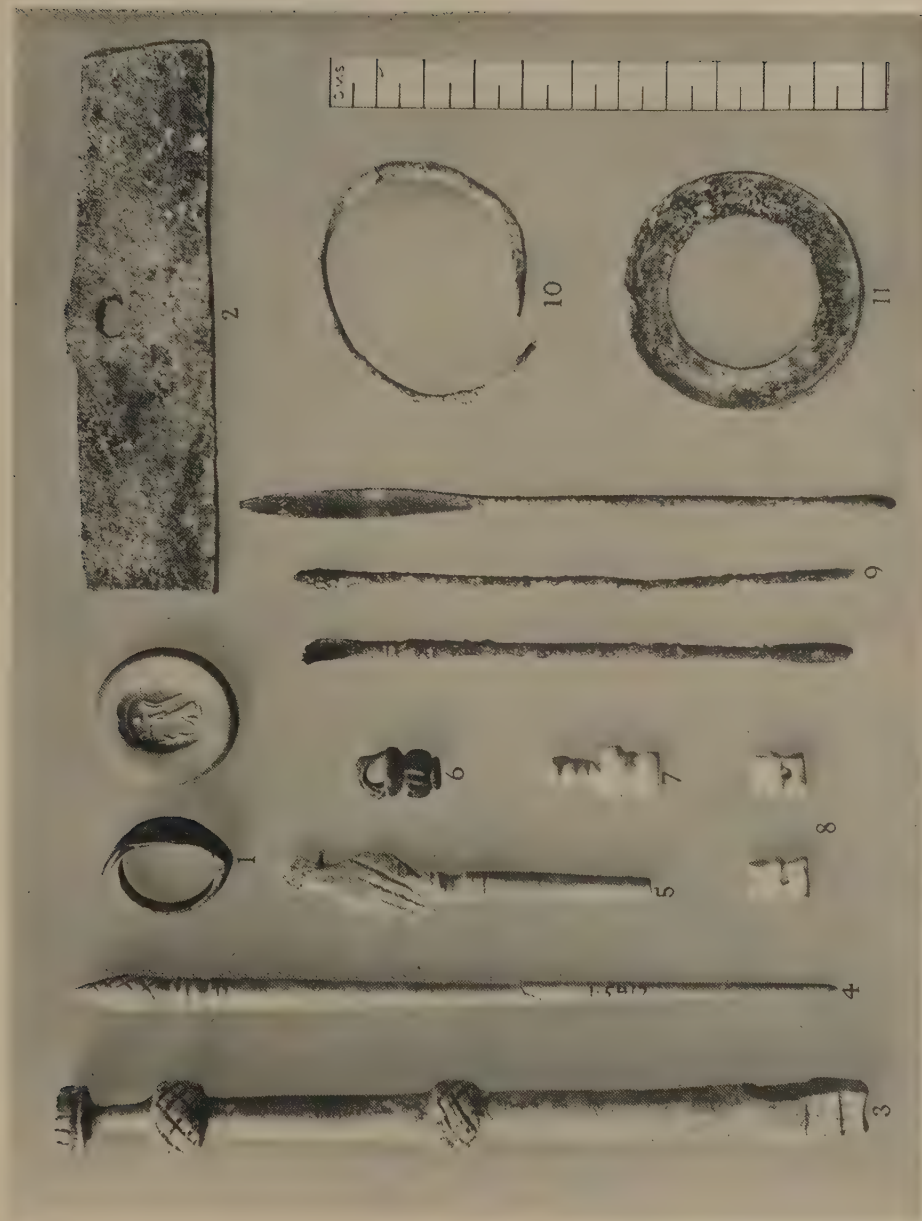
*Contents of Grave 24:* (1) Bronze button cover. (2) Green glass and yellow paste bead. (3) Bronze ring. (4) Ivory stopper. (5) Ivory button. (16) Gold ear-ring. (17) Ivory pin. *Grave 19:* (6) Glass bead. (7) Gold ear-ring. (8) to (10) Glass bracelets. (11) Roman pottery lamps. *Grave 15:* (12) Diorite buttons. (13) and (14) Glass bracelets. (15) Glass button.



Contents of Grave 36: (1) Fourteen pieces of gold sheet. Grave 33: (2) Gold ear-rings. (3) Bronze bracelet. (4) Iron ring encircling the neck of a glass bottle. Grave 64: (5) Gold ear-ring. (6) Resinous and glass beads. Grave 30: (7) Gold ear-rings. Grave 29: (8) Gold ear-ring. Grave 37: (9) Gold ear-rings. Grave 38: (10) Gold ear-rings. Grave 32: (11) Glass tear bottle. (12) Iron nail. (13) Glass plate. (14) Purple glass unguentarium. Grave 35: (15) Bronze fibulae. (16) Iron ring. (17) Bronze bracelet. (18) and (20) Glass beads. (19) Glass pendant.



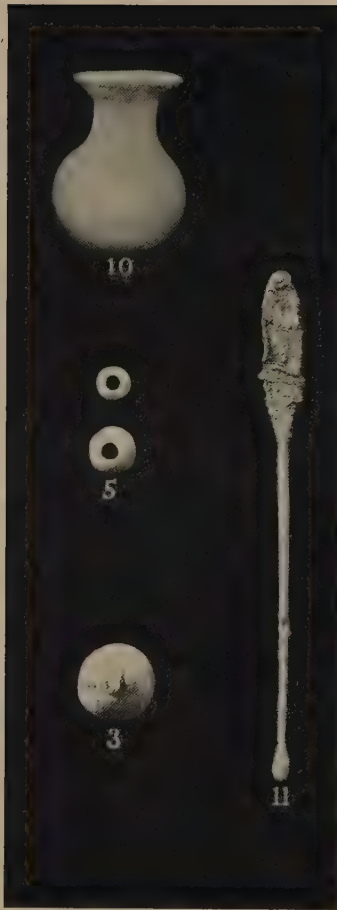
*Contents of Grave 39: (1) and (2) Glass unguentaria. (3) Gold ear-rings. (4) and (6) Glass unguentaria. (5) Glass urn. Grave 41: (7) Slender glass bottle. (8) Fragment of glass bottle. (9) Gold ear-rings.*



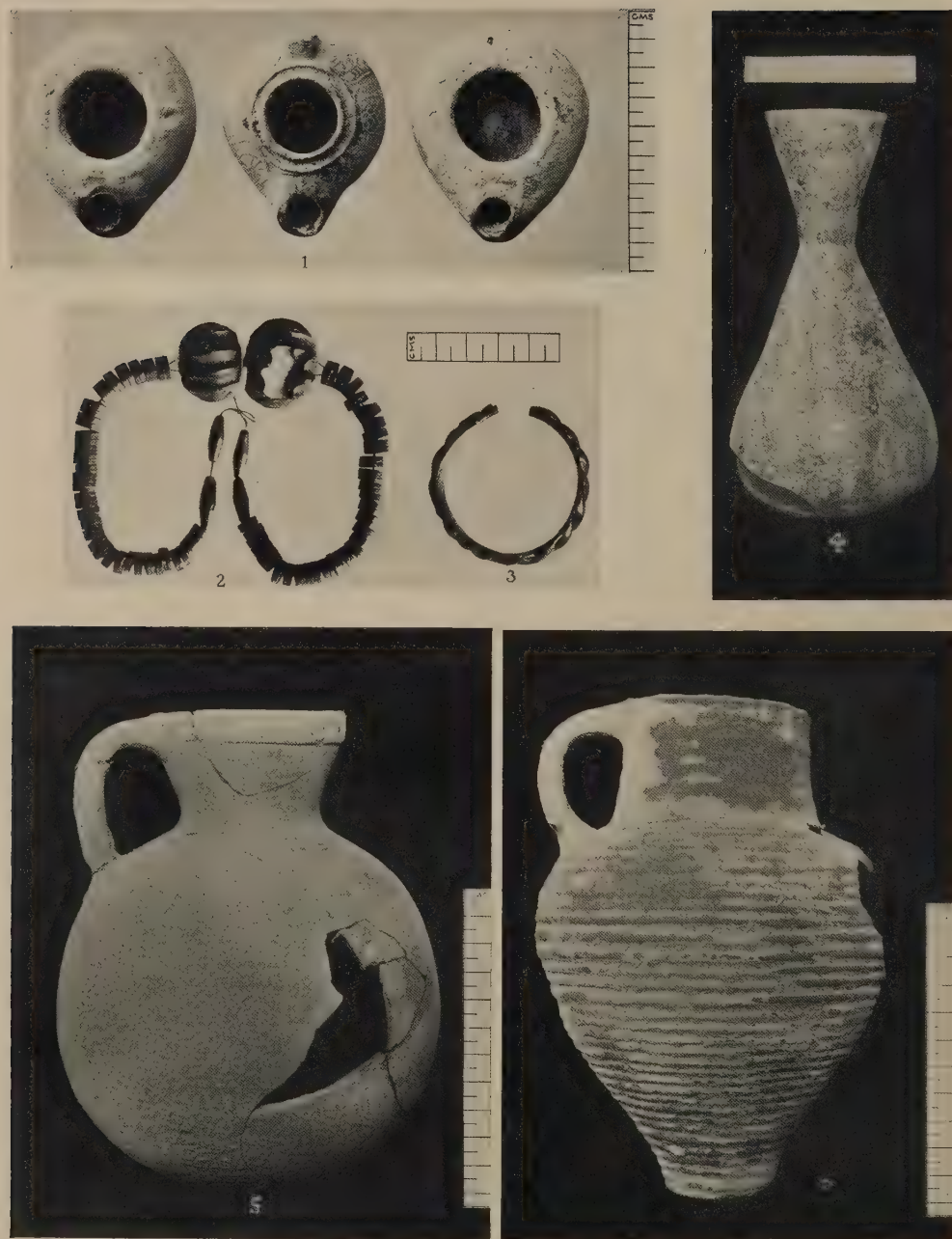
*Contents of Grave 44: (1) Bronze finger ring. (2) Bronze plate. (3) to (5) Ivory pins. (6) Glass pendant. (7) Ivory bust. (8) Ivory beads. (9) Bronze spatulae. (10) Bronze bracelet. (11) Bronze ring.*



*Contents of Grave 40 :* (1) Glass bottle. (2) Gold ear-rings. (3) and (4) Glass bottles. *Grave 66:* (5) Glass unguentarium. (6) Glass bottle. (7) Glass beads. (8) Bronze finger ring. (9) Glass plaque. (10) Glass bead. (11) Ivory pins. (12) Glass bottle. (13) Bronze pins.



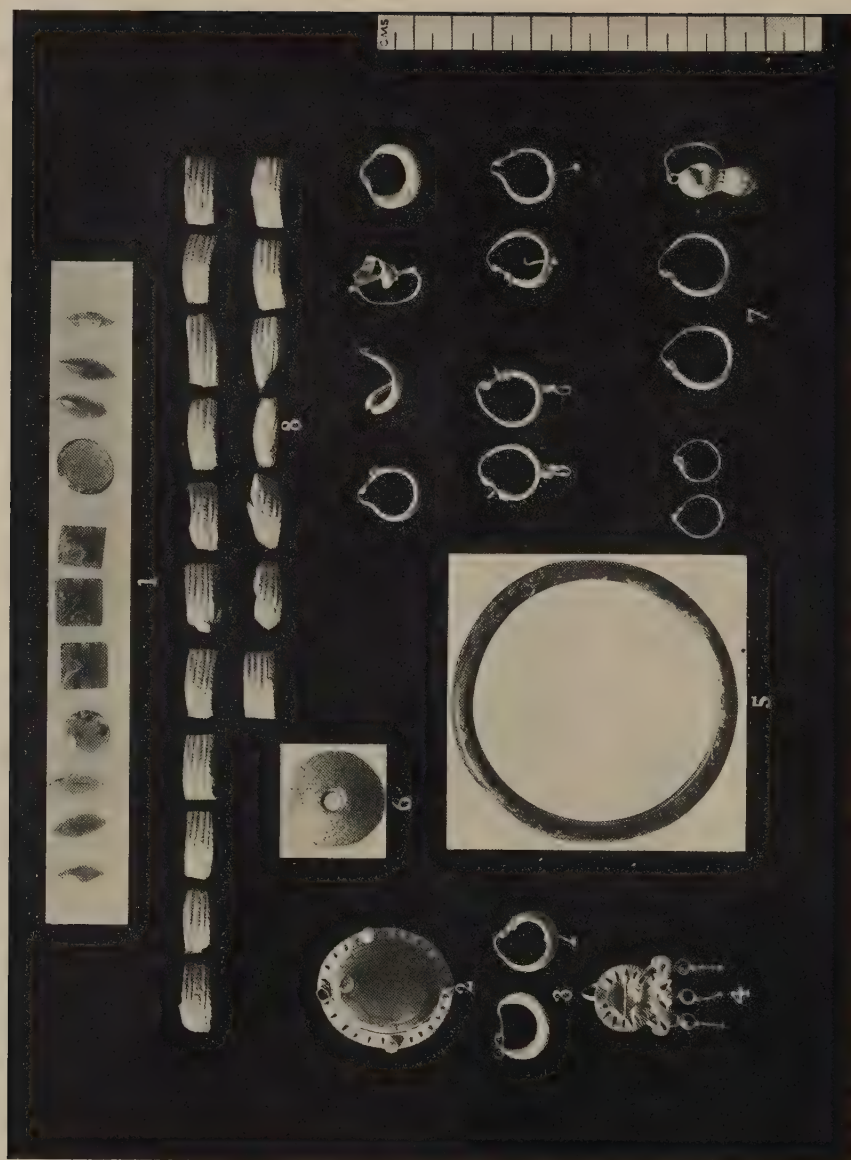
*Contents of Chamber G (Grave III): (1) Bronze bracelet. (2) Blue glass beads. (3) Bronze button case. (6) Three Roman laminae. Grave 67: (7) Glass fragment. (8) Diorite button. Grave 68: (9) Glass button. (10) Glass tear bottle. Chamber H (floor): (4) Glass bracelet. (5) Glass beads. Chamber H (Grave III): (11) Bronze spatula.*



*Contents of Cave B: (1) Pottery lamps. (2) Jet necklace. (3) Glass bracelet. (4) Glass bottle. (5) and (6) Pottery juglets.*



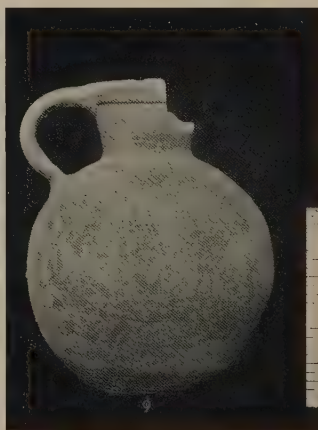
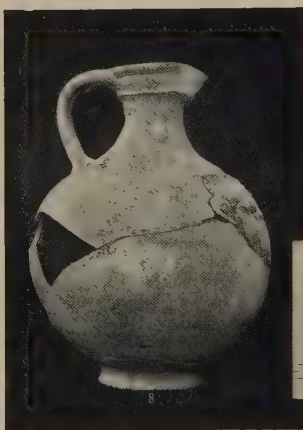
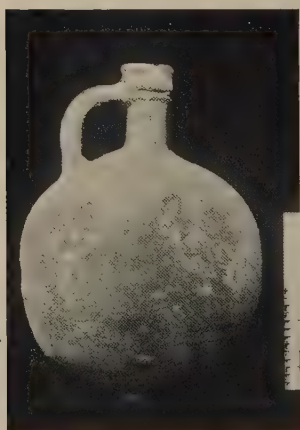
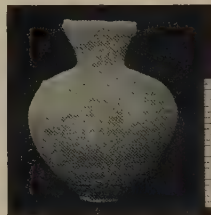
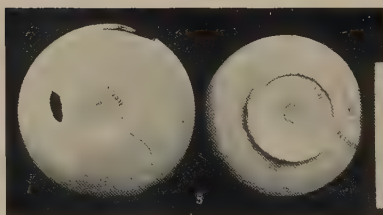
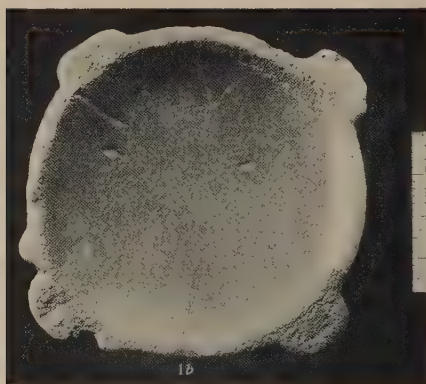
*Contents of Cave F: (1) Gold ear-rings. (2) Gold sheet. (3) Pottery lamps. (4) Diorite button. (5) Pottery juglets. Chamber E: (6) Two gold ear-rings (Grave V). (7) Gold ear-ring (Grave VI). (8) Gold ear-ring (Grave VII). (9) Pottery lamps (floor of Chamber).*



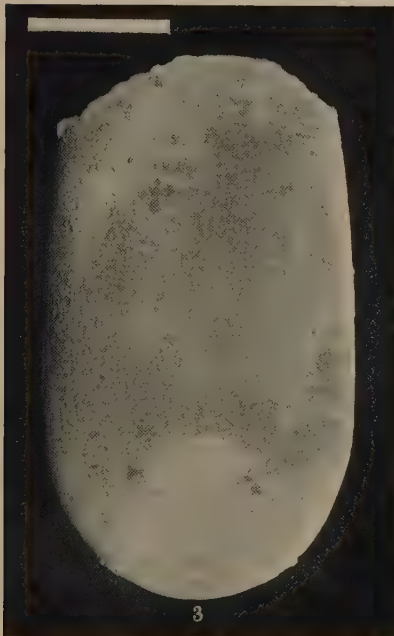
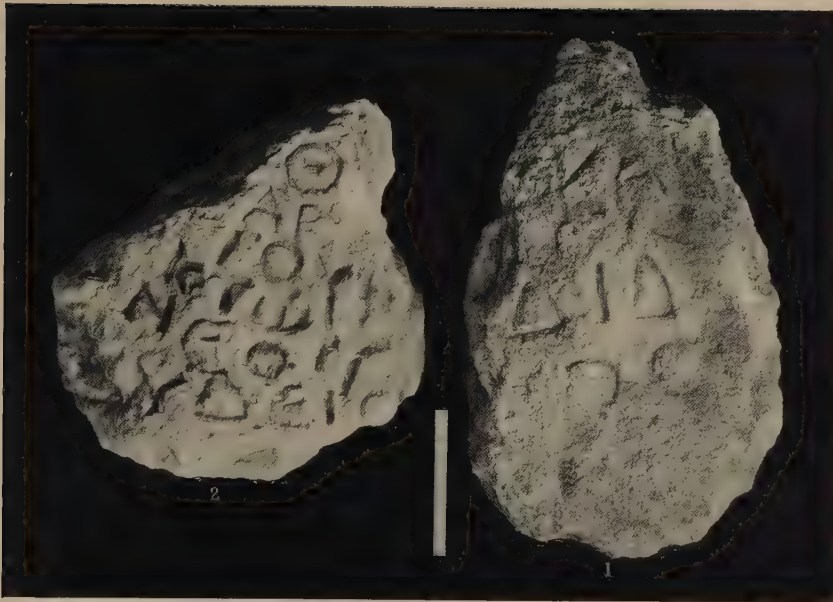
Contents of Chamber J (floor): (1) Glass beads, lozenges, &c. Chamber H (Grave III): (2) Agate brooch in gold setting. (3) and (4) Gold ear-rings. (8) Gold sheet. Chamber H (floor): (5) Glass bracelet. (6) Diorite button. (7) Gold ear-rings.



*Contents of Chamber 7: (1) Pottery lamp. (2) and (3) Glass bracelets. (4) Pottery jug (8). (5) Handle of pottery lamp. (6) Glass vase. (7) Pottery bowl (8).*



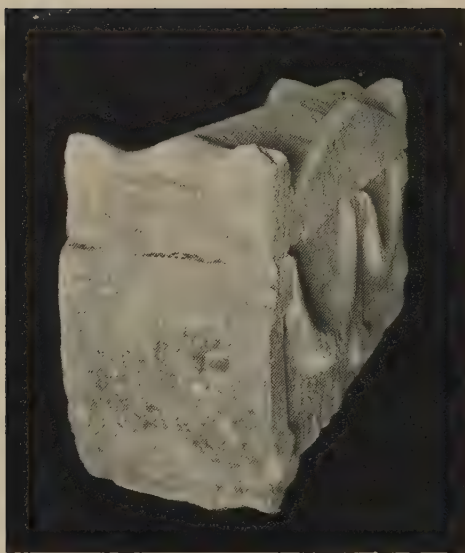
*Surface finds:* (1) Basalt mortars. (2) Basalt pestle found with (1 a). (3) Modern bronze candlestick.  
(4) Moulded stone. (5) Typical bases of juglets found on site. (6) to (9) Pottery juglets.



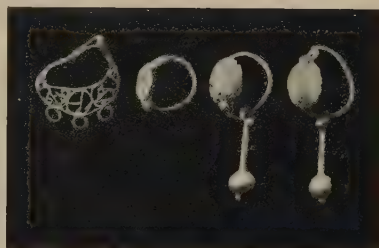
*Surface finds: (1) and (2) Inscribed tombstones. Chamber E: (3) Jar. Cave F: (4) Jar.*



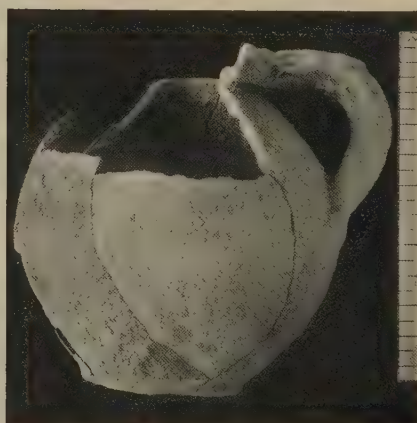
(1) Sarcophagus.



(2) Sarcophagus.



(3) Gold ear-rings found in sarcophagus.



(4) Jug which contained the hoard of Phoenician coins (see p. 10).

|    |                                                                                                               |                                                                                                      |               |                                          |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------|
| 30 | Bust of Justinian I facing, holding in r. hand globus surmounted by a cross; in field r. cross; around: DN -- | <b>M</b> on l. and r.<br>A X<br>N X<br>N X<br>O I (Year 31) above,<br>a cross; below: B; in ex.: CON | Surface soil. | Struck at Constantinople in A.D. 557-8.  |
| 30 | Justin II and Sophia seated to front; illegible.                                                              | <b>M</b> on l. and r.:<br>A<br>N q<br>N q<br>O (year 6) above, a cross; below: A; in ex.: NIKO.      | Surface soil. | Struck at Nicomedia in A.D. 570-1.       |
| 28 | Justin and Sophia seated to front; around: -IVSTI NVS PP --                                                   | <b>M</b> on l. and r.:<br>A<br>N q<br>N q<br>O (year 7) above, a cross; below: A; in ex.: NIKO.      | Surface soil. | Struck at Nicomedia in A.D. 571-2.       |
| 21 | Bust of Tiberius II facing, holding in r. hand globus surmounted by a cross; around: DN ITTA                  | <b>K</b> inscr. illegible.                                                                           | Cave B.       | A.D. 574-82. Probably struck at Antioch. |
| 28 | Much worn.                                                                                                    |                                                                                                      | Surface soil. | Probably 6th century A.D.                |
| 10 | Traces of bust of an emperor r.                                                                               | Monogram (only part visible).                                                                        | Surface soil. | Probably 6th century A.D.                |

In addition there were found in the surface soil:

- 5 Mamluk coins;  
7 coins of recent origin (Turkish and Egyptian);  
also, in Cave A, 1 coin of the Crusader period.

## A HOARD OF PHOENICIAN COINS

ON the 15th of August 1930, a hoard of Phoenician coins was discovered at Tall Abu Hawwam,<sup>1</sup> near Haifa.

All the coins have the same types and belong to series attributed to Tyre. The types are:

*Obverse:* Winged sea-horse moving r. over waves, represented by two lines, carrying a bearded male rider,<sup>2</sup> bust alone visible, with hair in a knot at the back (and bound with diadem?<sup>3</sup>), arms bare, wearing a garment showing vertical folds, resembling kandys; holding a bow in l. hand, outstretched, and reins in r.; cable border.

*Reverse:* Eagle-Owl standing r., looking to front; across field, crook and flail, placed diagonally behind owl, also numerals, letters, or both; cable border.

The hoard lay just over one metre below the original surface of the Tall, among stones forming the foundations of a wall of the Hellenistic period. Near the coins was found a broken jug (pl. XVIII. 4) to the inner surfaces of which still adhere short bands of silver corrosion, showing that the coins had been buried in the jug. Sixty-two coins were collected from the loose soil lying between the stones, by personnel of the Department of Antiquities, at the time of the discovery. A further batch of 47 coins, believed to complete the hoard, was sold on the same day to a Haifa antiquity dealer by an unknown individual, probably to be identified with the labourer who found the coins in the first instance and who afterwards left the work and disappeared. A list of the coins is appended; those belonging to the batch of 47 obtained through the antiquity dealer are distinguished by an asterisk (\*).

The first fourteen coins in the list are Phoenician staters of thick fabric, considerably worn and apparently struck from worn or imperfectly finished

<sup>1</sup> Tall Abu Hawwam is a small artificial mound lying between the foot of Mount Carmel and the Bay of Acre, a mile and a quarter to the south-east of Haifa Railway Station. The greater part of the mound has been demolished, in the past, to provide material for filling in adjacent swamps and, during the summer of 1930, some earth was taken from the small remaining portion to construct an embankment. During the latter work the hoard was found.

<sup>2</sup> Melqarth (Hill, *B.M. Catalogue, Phoenicia*, pp. 229–32) or 'Divinité' (Babelon, *Traité*, Pt. 2, Vol. II, p. 618). The appearance of the rider, his hair, clothing—so far as it is distinguishable on the coins—and manner of holding the bow, suggest an imitation of the figure of the Great King on darics; but the rider is not crowned with the kidaris which was a particular attribute of the Great King (Xenophon, *Anab.*, II, 5).

<sup>3</sup> The rider seems to be wearing a kind of turban with loose ends on some specimens (Nos. 9, 15) and, on others, a tiara that almost takes the form of the kidaris (No. 99).

dies; they had an outer coating of green corrosion, under which thin layers of red cuprous oxide adhered to the silver surfaces, indicating a large proportion of copper in the alloy.

The remaining 95 coins are of Attic standard, in almost new condition or only a little worn; these had a hard rough greyish-black coating of silver chloride, varying in thickness, but with no visible signs of copper alloy.

The greater number are dated to years 27 and 29. Year 33 is the latest in the hoard. As coins of the same series bearing dates up to year 37 are known, it is likely that the hoard was abandoned about three years before coins of the year 37 came into circulation.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest coins attributed to Tyre can be arranged in four groups, differing in fabric and style:

|                                                                                       | <i>Obverse.</i>                                                                                                               | <i>Reverse.</i>                                                                                                  | <i>B.M.C.<br/>No.<sup>2</sup></i> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Group I:</i><br>(Phoenician Staters, thick fabric. Not represented in the hoard.)  | Dolphin r. over <i>neat triple line of waves</i> ; murex shell in exergue.                                                    | Owl with ruff indicated by <i>thick continuous crescent</i> ; crook and flail; in <i>shallow incuse square</i> . | 1, &c.                            |
| <i>Group II:</i><br>(Phoenician Staters, thick fabric. Nos. 1-14 in list.)            | Sea-horse and rider over clumsy double line of waves; dolphin in exergue.                                                     | Owl with ruff treated naturally, showing feathers; crook and flail, letters, numerals, &c.                       | 11, 14, &c.                       |
| <i>Group III:</i><br>(Phoenician Staters, flat fabric. Not represented in the hoard.) | Sea-horse and rider, over <i>neat triple line of waves</i> ; dolphin in exergue.                                              | Owl with ruff as in <i>Group I</i> ; crook and flail; in <i>shallow incuse circle</i> .                          | 19, &c.                           |
| <i>Group IV:</i><br>(Attic standard, flat fabric. Nos. 15-109 in list.)               | Sea-horse and rider over clumsy double line of waves (as in <i>Group II</i> , but showing greater detail) dolphin in exergue. | Owl with ruff treated naturally (as in <i>Group II</i> ). Crook and flail, letters, numerals, &c.                | 25, 29, 32, &c.                   |

The hoard contains coins of Groups II and IV only, in proportions that might be expected if the latter group followed the former without the interposition of Group III. It seems possible, on grounds of style also, that

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion as to the eras by which these coins of Attic standard may be dated see Hill, *ibid.*, pp. cxxix ff. He regards the Seleucid era as the most probable; this would place the coins of year 37 in 276-5 B.C.; he adds, however, in a note that 'Rouvier's suggestion . . . that the coins of years 23-37 are dated by the Phoenician era of Alexander and belong to 311/10-297/6 B.C., is attractive . . .'.

<sup>2</sup> For complete descriptions the British Museum Catalogue should be consulted.

Group III immediately succeeded Group I; on both groups there is a neat triple line of waves, distinct from the careless double lines on Groups II and IV; the thick continuous crescent passing below the owl's beak, representing the ruff, occurs on Groups I and III, but the ruff is treated differently on Groups II and IV. The reverse type of Group I is in an incuse square, that of Group III in a shallow incuse circle, indicating similar methods of striking, distinct from the method used for Group II which produced no incuse impression.

On the evidence of the Cilician find<sup>1</sup> the coins of Group III were in circulation before 380 B.C. They cannot be attributed to any particular ruler; possibly Evagoras I, of Salamis, introduced them after he seized Tyre in 389 B.C., but, if so, they could have been issued during a short period only (though Babelon states that they are very common<sup>2</sup>) and Evagoras would have been responsible for introducing the type of rider on sea-horse.

The fabric of Groups II and IV is careless and plated specimens are known; but no plated specimens are recorded in Groups I and III. It has been noted that the coins of Group II found in the hoard are of debased silver. A coin of Group IV in barbarous style, with the reverse type to l. is recorded.<sup>3</sup>

A characteristic of Groups II and IV is that the types in each Group present a remarkable uniformity in size and contour, at first creating an impression that very few dies were used; but, after taking into account differences due to the re-working of some dies, there remain variations (such as changes in the position of the crook and flail or numerals in relation to the main type) which show that such an impression would be incorrect and that relatively large numbers of dies may have been prepared, by some mechanical means, from one model, each die being afterwards worked up by the wheel. For comparing dies lantern slides were made from photographs of some of the coins; the degree of similarity between the dies could be seen by looking through two slides held together above a bright reflecting surface and adjusting them to obtain coincidence.

(Half the slides were made with the images reversed, so that any pair could be held film to film, to avoid separation by the thickness of the glass.)

The foregoing notes, taken in conjunction with the fact that no coins of Group III occurred in the hoard, would seem to imply that Group II followed Group III. But it is difficult to admit this, owing to the thick fabric of the coins in Group II, if both Groups were issued from the same mint.

The fabric of Group II is not unlike that of imitations of Athenian tetra-

<sup>1</sup> Newell, *Num. Chron.*, 1914, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, p. cxc.

<sup>3</sup> *B.M. Catalogue, Phoenicia*, p. 231, No. 31.

drachms struck in the East. Is it likely that Group II was similarly issued in imitation of Tyrian coins? Or, alternatively, that Groups II and IV came from the mint of some other Phoenician city connected with Tyre? The latter suggestion may be preferred.

The hoard was found at a considerable distance from Tyre, eight miles south of Acre where Alexander had a mint,<sup>1</sup> yet no coins of Alexander's types are included in it.

If it is held that the coins were struck at Tyre, it is difficult to see why the hoard did not contain also coins of other types which might have been circulating. (It can be assumed that the coins were still current when the hoard was put aside because it does not contain specimens of the latest coins in the series.)

If, however, the coins were struck not at Tyre, but at a mint near the site which yielded the hoard, perhaps at Acre, they would represent the principal local currency and the absence of other types from the hoard would be less striking. Also, incidentally, it would be unnecessary to account for the fact that coins of Group III do not occur, these having been minted at Tyre.

If these suggestions are admitted, can the sign  coupled with the numerals on coins of Group IV and generally read as 20, be in reality the letter  $\vartheta$ ? The sign for 20 does not seem to occur as a perfect circle on Phoenician inscriptions till a later date, and on tetradrachms of Alexander bearing the mint name of Acre ( $\vartheta\sigma$ ), the sign for 20 is  $\omega$ .

If the  $\sigma$  were a letter and not a numeral, the dates would read from year 1 to 17, consecutively, instead of from 1 to 37 with a gap which may amount to 20 years between years 4 and 23, but it would be necessary to reconsider the question of the era by which the coins are dated, and the remaining signs which represent letters, whether standing by the numerals (as  $\vartheta$ ,  $\vartheta$ ) or not ( $\vartheta$ ,  $\vartheta$ ,  $\vartheta$ ), would still have to be explained. Possible interpretations of the letters are discussed by Hill<sup>2</sup> and it seems reasonable to suppose that those letters which are directly associated with the numerals bear some relation, not yet ascertained, to the system of dating.

The combinations which occur are:

Undated (? or with numeral imperfectly struck),  $\vartheta$  (No. 15).

Year 1,  $\vartheta$ . (one series only)

„ 2,  $\omega$ ,  $\omega$ .

„ 3,  $\omega\omega$ ,  $\omega\omega$ ,  $\omega$ .

„ 4,  $\omega\omega\omega$  (on a barbarous specimen<sup>3</sup>),  $\omega\omega\omega$ .

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. lxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. cxxix.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 231, No. 31.

Apart from the sign  $\circ$  under consideration, all the letters are found on coins of years 1 to 4 except in the case of a specimen inscribed  $\text{𐤌𐤍𐤏}^1$ , read as year 23, but which would read year 3 if the  $\circ$  were a letter and not a numeral. Supposing that the  $\circ$  represents  $\text{𐤅}$  (standing for the mint name of Acre) the following combinations can be added to the list:

Year 3,  $\text{𐤌𐤍𐤏}$ ,  $\text{𐤌𐤍𐤏}$ .

„ 4,  $\text{𐤌𐤍𐤏}$ .

Variations then appear only on coins of years 1 to 4, the letter accompanying the numerals on later issues being constant (always  $\text{𐤅}$ ).

Hill states<sup>2</sup> that the mint name of Acre is found on coins of Alexander 'until 294-293 B.C.', and that 'the city remained in Seleucid hands from this year until Ptolemy II recovered it (perhaps on the death of Seleucus in 281)', but Newell<sup>3</sup> proposes to date these Alexander coins by an era beginning about 347 B.C. He mentions also bronze coins of Alexander bearing the inscription  $\text{TY}^4$  and  $\text{𐤅𐤌}$ , the initial letters of Tyre in Greek and the name of Acre in Phoenician characters, one dated year 26, showing a connexion between the two mints; he further shows that some of the dies used in striking Alexander's coins for Sidon were used also on coins struck at Acre, assuming the existence of separate mints and the transfer of dies from Sidon to Acre. Is it not also possible that the mint of Acre was employed to strike currency needed in other Phoenician cities and that such issues were not limited to the types of Alexander (which may not have been accepted everywhere when first introduced<sup>5</sup>), but included Phoenician types as well?

The subsidiary letter  $\text{𐤅}$  which is found on a coin of Group IV having the date numeral 3 (No. 21 in the hoard) occurs also on coins of Alexander's types struck at Acre with date numerals from 26 to 29;<sup>6</sup> there may of course be no connexion, but if the Phoenician coins bearing the letter  $\text{𐤅}$  were struck when  $\text{𐤅}$  first appears on the Alexander coins (c. 320 B.C. according to Newell) the Phoenician series represented by Group IV would have begun soon after the death of Alexander. In considering possible meanings of the letters on

<sup>1</sup> *B.M. Catalogue, Phoenicia*, p. 232, No. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> E. T. Newell, *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake* (Yale, 1916), p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-1.

<sup>5</sup> 'A number of types are purely imitative and were adopted by states in order to obtain currency for their own issues.' (Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 177.) As Alexander's types eventually gained almost universal currency in the Near East, any need to imitate local types could have arisen only during the period of the earlier issues. Hill notes similarities in fabric between 'Tyrian coins belonging to the period immediately after the siege of Tyre' (i.e. Group IV) and coins struck at Babylon by Alexander's generals with Persian and other oriental types (*B.M. Catalogue, Arabia*, p. cxlii).

<sup>6</sup> Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

coins of the first four years it is necessary to remember that the 9 and the 4 appear also on Group II. But given the connexion between the mints of Acre and Tyre shown by the bronze Alexander coin of year 26 (i.e. 320 B.C.?) it would not be difficult to accept the suggestion of Six that the 4 on coins of years 2 to 4 represents Tyre.<sup>1</sup>

To summarize, it is suggested that:

- (1) Coins of Groups I and III belong to Tyre.
- (2) Coins of Groups II and IV were struck at some other mint, perhaps Acre.
- (3) Coins of Group IV may have been issued for local requirements concurrently with coins of Alexander's types struck at Acre.
- (4) The sign 0 on Group IV may be 2, instead of the numeral 20; but if this is not accepted, it need not invalidate the attribution of the coins to a mint other than Tyre.

C. L.

# LIST OF COINS IN THE TALL ABU HAWWAM HOARD

*Note.* In this list the reading of the sign 0 as the numeral 20 has been retained.

| No. | Size (mm.). | Axis. | Weight (gm.).    |                 | Year. | Letters, numerals, &c. on reverse. | Notes.                          |
|-----|-------------|-------|------------------|-----------------|-------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|     |             |       | Before cleaning. | After cleaning. |       |                                    |                                 |
| 1   | 23          | ↗     | 12.90            | 12.72           | ?     | 4                                  |                                 |
| 2   | 23          | ↗     | 12.36            | 12.09           | ?     | 4                                  | .. .. . Plate XIX.              |
| *3  | 21          | ↘     | 13.06            | 12.82           | 1?    | I [-]?                             |                                 |
| *4  | 20          | ↓     | 13.05            | 12.83           | 2?    | II [-]?                            |                                 |
| *5  | 21          | ↘     | 13.42            | 13.20           | 4     | ♠ IIII                             | .. .. . Plate.                  |
| 6   | 20          | ↗     | 13.22            | 12.99           | 4?    | III [-]?                           |                                 |
| 7   | 22½         | ↘     | 13.42            | 13.17           | 4     | IIII                               | .. .. . Plate.                  |
| 8   | 22          | ↖     | 13.29            | 13.07           | 6     | ♠ IIIII                            | Rev. die = 5, re-cut. Plate.    |
| 9   | 22          | ↗     | 12.71            | 12.27           | 25?   | IIII~?                             | .. .. . Plate.                  |
| 10  | 21          | →     | 13.26            | 13.09           | 30    | ~ ~                                | .. .. . Plate.                  |
| *11 | 20          | ↗     | 13.22            | 12.94           | 30    | ~ ~                                |                                 |
| 12  | 23          | ↖     | 13.28            | 13.02           | ?     | --                                 | .. .. . Plate.                  |
| 13  | 19          | →     | 13.18            | 13.09           | ?     | 9                                  | .. .. . Plate.                  |
| 14  | 24          | ↖     | 12.95            | 12.53           | ?     | 4?                                 |                                 |
| *15 | 22          | ↑     | 8.97             | 8.53            | ?     | 4                                  | .. .. . Plate.                  |
| 16  | 22          | ↗     | 8.92             | 8.59            | 2     | II<br>3                            | Same obv. die as 17, 18. Plate. |
| 17  | 22          | ↗     | 8.87             | 8.82            | 3     | III<br>3                           |                                 |
| 18  | 23          | ↗     | 9.14             | 8.22            | 3     | III<br>3                           |                                 |

<sup>1</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1877, p. 191, cited by Hill, *B.M. Catalogue, Phoenicia*, p. cxxix.

LIST OF COINS IN THE TALL ABU HAWWAM HOARD (*cont.*)

| No. | Size<br>(mm.). | Axis. | (Weight (gm.).)     |                    | Year. | Letters,<br>numerals, &c.<br>on reverse. | Notes.                                          |
|-----|----------------|-------|---------------------|--------------------|-------|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
|     |                |       | Before<br>cleaning. | After<br>cleaning. |       |                                          |                                                 |
| 19  | 23             | ↗     | 9.14                | 8.47               | 3     | III<br>W                                 | Obv. = 20.                                      |
| *20 | 22             | ↑     | 8.90                | 8.80               | 3     | III<br>W                                 |                                                 |
| 21  | 19½            | ↗     | 9.00                | 8.75               | 3     | IIIW<br>X                                | Part of flail curled up to l. <i>Plate XIX.</i> |
| 22  | 22             | ↗     | 8.89                | 8.84               | 3     | IIIW                                     | " " "                                           |
| 23  | 21             | ↗     | 8.84                | 8.82               | 4     | III                                      | Traces of W below. <i>Plate.</i>                |
| *24 | 21             | ↑     | 8.84                | 8.74               | 23    | IIIO                                     |                                                 |
| *25 | 20             | ↗     | 9.04                | 8.17               | 23?   | [IIIO]                                   |                                                 |
| 26  | 21             | ↖     | 9.08                | 8.31               | 24?   | [IIIO]                                   | Obv. = 27.                                      |
| 27  | 20             | ↖     | 8.90                | 8.78               | 24    | IIIO                                     |                                                 |
| *28 | 21             | ↖     | 9.01                | 8.00               | 24    | IIIO                                     |                                                 |
| *29 | 21             | ↑     | 8.99                | 8.33               | 24    | IIIO                                     |                                                 |
| 30  | 21½            | ↗     | 9.17                | 8.53               | 24    | IIIO                                     |                                                 |
| *31 | 21             | ↖     | 8.89                | 8.62               | 25    | IIIO                                     | .. .. <i>Plate.</i>                             |
| *32 | 21             | ↑     | 9.00                | 8.42               | 25    | IIIO                                     |                                                 |
| 33  | 20½            | ↗     | 8.80                | 8.73               | 26    | IIIO<br>I                                | .. .. <i>Plate.</i>                             |
| 34  | 21             | ↗     | 8.91                | 8.81               | 26    | IIIO<br>I                                | Obv. = 38.                                      |
| *35 | 20             | ↑     | 8.89                | 8.87               | 26    | IIIO<br>I                                | Obv. = 36.                                      |
| *36 | 21             | ↑     | 8.86                | 8.63               | 26    | IIIO<br>I                                |                                                 |
| *37 | 21             | ↑     | 8.81                | 8.69               | 26?   | [IIIO<br>I]                              |                                                 |
| *38 | 21             | ↗     | 8.93                | 8.42               | 26?   | [IIIO<br>I]                              |                                                 |
| 39  | 20½            | ↗     | 8.86                | 8.43               | 27    | IIIO<br>II                               | Rev. = 40, 41.                                  |
| 40  | 20             | ↑     | 8.84                | 8.80               | 27    | IIIO<br>II                               |                                                 |
| 41  | 21             | ↑     | 9.02                | 8.28               | 27    | IIIO<br>II                               |                                                 |
| 42  | 21             | ↗     | 9.17                | 7.96               | 27    | IIIO<br>II                               | Obv. = 43, 47.                                  |
| 43  | 22½            | ↖     | 9.04                | 8.41               | 27    | IIIO<br>II                               | Rev. = 47.                                      |

| No. | Size<br>(mm.). | Axis. | Weight (gm.).       |                    | Year. | Letters,<br>numerals, &c.<br>on reverse. | Notes.                                                   |
|-----|----------------|-------|---------------------|--------------------|-------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
|     |                |       | Before<br>cleaning. | After<br>cleaning. |       |                                          |                                                          |
| 44  | 23             | ↗     | 8.92                | 8.48               | 27    | IIII O<br>II                             | Obv. = 45, 46, 49.<br>Rev. = 45.                         |
| 45  | 20½            | ↗     | 8.99                | 8.62               | 27    | IIII O<br>[II]                           |                                                          |
| *46 | 20             | ↗     | 8.98                | 8.55               | 27?   | IIII O<br>II [I]?                        |                                                          |
| *47 | 21             | ↑     | 8.86                | 8.67               | 27    | [IIII O<br>II]                           |                                                          |
| *48 | 23             | ↗     | 9.12                | 8.27               | 27?   | [IIII O<br>II]?                          | Obv. = 52.                                               |
| 49  | 19½            | ↗     | 8.89                | 8.70               | 27?   | [IIII O<br>III]?                         |                                                          |
| 50  | 22             | ↖     | 8.92                | 8.57               | 27    | IIII O<br>II                             |                                                          |
| 51  | 21             | ↖     | 9.10                | 8.64               | 27    | IIII O<br>II                             |                                                          |
| *52 | 21             | ↖     | 9.01                | 8.45               | 27    | IIII O<br>II                             |                                                          |
| *53 | 20             | ↗     | 8.89                | 8.86               | 27    | IIII O<br>II                             | Obv. = 54. <span style="float: right;">Plate XIX.</span> |
| *54 | 20             | ↗     | 8.97                | 8.40               | 27    | IIII O<br>II                             | Rev. = 56.                                               |
| *55 | 20             | ↗     | 8.81                | 8.59               | 27    | IIII O<br>II                             |                                                          |
| *56 | 21             | ↗     | 9.05                | 8.57               | 27    | IIII O<br>II                             |                                                          |
| *57 | 21             | ↗     | 8.75                | 8.27               | 27    | IIII O<br>II                             |                                                          |
| 58  | 22             | ↗     | 8.85                | 8.72               | 28    | IIII O<br>III                            | Same dies as 59, 60.                                     |
| *59 | 21             | ↗     | 8.99                | 8.61               | 28    | IIII O<br>III                            |                                                          |
| *60 | 20             | ↗     | 8.95                | 8.71               | 28    | IIII O<br>III                            |                                                          |
| *61 | 22             | ↗     | 8.96                | 8.57               | 28    | IIII O<br>III                            |                                                          |
| *62 | 20             | ↗     | 8.85                | 8.61               | 28    | IIII O<br>III                            |                                                          |
| *63 | 20             | ↗     | 8.84                | 8.54               | 28    | IIII O<br>III                            |                                                          |
| 64  | 21             | ↑     | 8.99                | 8.74               | 29    | IIII O<br>III                            | Same dies as 65, 66, 67;<br>also obv. = 68.              |

# LIST OF COINS IN THE TALL ABU HAWWAM HOARD (*cont.*)

| No. | Size<br>(mm.). | Axis. | Weight (gm.).       |                    | Year. | Letters,<br>numerals, &c.<br>on reverse. | Notes.                           |
|-----|----------------|-------|---------------------|--------------------|-------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|     |                |       | Before<br>cleaning. | After<br>cleaning. |       |                                          |                                  |
| 65  | 21             | ↑     | 8.89                | 8.86               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           | Plate XIX                        |
| 66  | 20             | ↑     | 8.86                | 8.84               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                  |
| 67  | 21             | ↗     | 8.95                | 8.82               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                  |
| 68  | 21             | ↑     | 9.06                | 8.24               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                  |
| 69  | 22½            | ↑     | 9.11                | 8.30               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           | Obv. = 70, 71, 72, 90.           |
| 70  | 21             | ↖     | 8.89                | 8.70               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           | Same dies as 71, 90.             |
| 71  | 22½            | ↗     | 9.17                | 8.34               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                  |
| 72  | 21             | ↑     | 8.95                | 8.56               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                  |
| 73  | 21½            | ↗     | 9.08                | 8.19               | 29?   | [IIIIIO<br>IIII]?                        | Obv. = 74, 75, 76, 96.           |
| 74  | 21½            | ↑     | 8.92                | 8.74               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           | Same dies as 75, 76, 96.         |
| 75  | 21½            | ↗     | 8.94                | 8.87               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                  |
| 76  | 22             | ↑     | 8.92                | 8.42               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                  |
| 77  | 21             | ↗     | 8.94                | 8.91               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                  |
| 78  | 22             | ↑     | 8.89                | 8.56               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           | Same dies as 79; also rev. = 87. |
| 79  | 22             | ↑     | 8.96                | 8.27               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>II[I]                          |                                  |
| 80  | 21             | ↗     | 8.96                | 8.26               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           | Obv. = 81, 88, 94.               |
| 81  | 21             | ↑     | 9.11                | 8.24               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                  |
| 82  | 20             | ↑     | 9.02                | 8.83               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                  |
| 83  | 20             | ↖     | 8.91                | 8.88               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           | Obv. = 91.                       |
| 84  | 22             | ↗     | 8.92                | 8.67               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           | Rev. = 86, 91.                   |

| No.  | Size<br>(mm.). | Axis. | Weight (gm.).       |                    | Year. | Letters,<br>numerals, &c.<br>on reverse. | Notes.                             |
|------|----------------|-------|---------------------|--------------------|-------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
|      |                |       | Before<br>cleaning. | After<br>cleaning. |       |                                          |                                    |
| 85   | 21             | ↗     | 8.91                | 8.82               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           | Rev. = 94, 97.                     |
| *86  | 20             | ↗     | 8.87                | 8.63               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                    |
| *87  | 22             | ↑     | 9.11                | 8.62               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                    |
| *88  | 19             | ↗     | 8.98                | 8.39               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                    |
| *89  | 20             | ↑     | 8.95                | 8.71               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                    |
| *90  | 20             | ↖     | 9.03                | 8.67               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>II[II]                         |                                    |
| *91  | 20             | ↗     | 9.01                | 8.43               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                    |
| *92  | 21             | ↗     | 8.77                | 8.72               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>III[1]                         |                                    |
| *93  | 19             | ↗     | 8.89                | 8.50               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                    |
| *94  | 19             | ↗     | 8.95                | 8.73               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           | Obv. = 93, 95.<br>Same dies as 95. |
| *95  | 19             | ↗     | 8.97                | 8.74               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                    |
| *96  | 20             | ↗     | 8.96                | 8.45               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                    |
| *97  | 20             | ↗     | 9.05                | 8.10               | 29    | IIIIIO<br>IIII                           |                                    |
| 98   | 20             | ↗     | 8.88                | 8.85               | 30    | ~O                                       |                                    |
| 99   | 22             | ↖     | 8.84                | 8.18               | 30    | ~O                                       |                                    |
| 100  | 19             | ↑     | 8.81                | 8.71               | 30    | ~O                                       |                                    |
| 101  | 20½            | ↖     | 8.82                | 8.74               | 30    | ~O                                       |                                    |
| 102  | 22             | ↗     | 9.12                | 8.51               | 30    | ~O                                       |                                    |
| *103 | 20             | ↑     | 9.00                | 8.53               | 30    | ~O                                       | Plate XIX.                         |
| *104 | 20             | ↖     | 8.93                | 8.54               | 30    | ~O                                       |                                    |
| *105 | 21             | ↖     | 8.94                | 8.58               | 30    | ~O                                       |                                    |
| *106 | 20             | ↖     | 9.08                | 8.48               | 30    | ~O                                       |                                    |
| 107  | 21½            | ↖     | 8.84                | 8.79               | 32    | II~O                                     |                                    |
| 108  | 22             | ↖     | 9.11                | 8.35               | 33    | ~O<br>III                                |                                    |
| *109 | 21             | ↗     | 9.01                | 8.49               | ?     | - -                                      |                                    |
|      |                |       |                     |                    |       |                                          | Plate.                             |

## SUMMARY

| <i>Year.</i>               | <i>Number of coins.</i> |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>GROUP II.</i>           |                         |
| (Undated)                  | 5                       |
| 1 . . . . .                | 1 (?)                   |
| 2 . . . . .                | 1 (?)                   |
| 4 . . . . .                | 3 (?)                   |
| 6 . . . . .                | 1                       |
| 25 (?) . . . . .           | 1                       |
| 30 . . . . .               | 2                       |
| Total (Group II) 14 coins. |                         |
| <i>GROUP IV.</i>           |                         |
| (Undated ?)                | 1                       |
| 2 . . . . .                | 1                       |
| 3 . . . . .                | 6                       |
| 4 . . . . .                | 1                       |
| 23 . . . . .               | 2                       |
| 24 . . . . .               | 5                       |
| 25 . . . . .               | 2                       |
| 26 . . . . .               | 6                       |
| 27 . . . . .               | 19                      |
| 28 . . . . .               | 6                       |
| 29 . . . . .               | 34                      |
| 30 . . . . .               | 9                       |
| 32 . . . . .               | 1                       |
| 33 . . . . .               | 1                       |
| ? . . . . .                | 1                       |
| Total (Group IV) 95 coins. |                         |



A HOARD OF PHOENICIAN COINS



## MEDIEVAL 'AJLŪN

### I. *The Castle*.<sup>1</sup> (*Qal'at ar-Rabad*.)

TRANS-JORDAN never formed an integral part of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Content with Palestine, which made up the greater part of the land which they could regard as theirs 'by divine inheritance', the kings made no serious attempt to control the marches beyond the Jordan which would have secured their conquests by cutting off communication between Damascus and Egypt. The first generation had hoped to do so. The 'two lions' of Montreal (1115)<sup>2</sup> and Kerak (1142)<sup>3</sup> controlled the fief of Syria Sobal (popularly known as *Outre Mer* because it lay east of the Dead Sea), and supported by a string of smaller posts reaching to the Gulf of 'Aqaba,<sup>4</sup> they menaced the caravans passing up and down the *hajj* road some thirty miles to the east. A wild and difficult no-man's land, the Crusaders had found it empty and undefended. Farther north in the country vaguely known as *oultre le flum Jordan* they met with more resistance. For nearly thirty years after the first invasion they disputed it with Tughtakīn, the vigorous Atabak of Damascus who fought them so doggedly that he earned a nickname among them—'the Big Boor'.<sup>5</sup>

The part of his territory which they repeatedly attacked was the rich plain east of the lake of Tiberias, the Sawād,<sup>6</sup> meaning here as in 'Iraq, the 'dark' tilth bordering on the desert.<sup>7</sup> To the Crusaders it was the land of Suhitis, Suite, or Suet, which they not unnaturally confused with the country of Job's friend, Bildad the Shuhite.<sup>8</sup> It ran south along the Jordan valley to meet the plain of the Balqā,<sup>9</sup> north of Kerak, and embraced the mountains overlooking

<sup>1</sup> Works of clearance and conservation were carried out by the Department of Antiquities of the Government of H.H. the Amir of Trans-Jordan during three seasons, 1927–8–9, supervised by the late Signor P. A. Ricci, Engineer to the Department, until his death in 1928. The plan and sections were made by the writer in 1929 and the photographs taken by Mr. G. Horsfield, Inspector of the Department. To him I am indebted for the opportunity of undertaking this study as well as for many suggestions. I am also glad to acknowledge help from Mr. K. A. C. Creswell of Cairo, and M. Gaston Wiet, Director of the Arab Museum in Cairo, as well as from members of this Department.

<sup>2</sup> William of Tyre, lib. XI, cap. 26, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Occidentaux*, Tome I.

<sup>3</sup> William of Tyre, XV, 21. <sup>4</sup> Rey, *Colonies Franques de Syrie aux xième et xiième siècles*, 393 ff.

<sup>5</sup> 'Grossus Rusticus prae nimia pinguique corpulentia et vili persona in qua totus rusticus esse videbatur', Albert of Aix, lib. VII, 16, *Rec. Hist. Occid.*, IV.

<sup>6</sup> Sibṭ, 'Mir'at az-Zamān' *Rec. Hist. Orientaux*, III, p. 529; 'ditissimam auro et argento, armentis fecundissimam', Albert, X, 5, van Berchem, *Journal Asiatique*, ninth series, XIX, p. 411.

<sup>7</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', *Géographie* (Renaud), t. II, 67; II. ii. 64.

<sup>8</sup> William of Tyre, XXII, 21.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Rec. Hist. Or.*, I, p. 88 and n. 2, p. 766.

the Jordan valley, west and south of Jerash, known to-day as Jabal 'Ajlūn and Jabal Jil'ad respectively. The latter corresponds to the medieval district of as-Salt, the former to Jabal Jarash,<sup>1</sup> which by the twelfth century had come to be known as Jabal 'Auf after a bedawi tribe who had invaded it in Fatimite times.<sup>2</sup> To the east lay the desolate lava country of al-Bathaniyya, centring at Ahrid'āt, the modern Der'ah.<sup>3</sup> Towns which were flourishing in Byzantine times appear to have been abandoned after a series of devastating earthquakes in the late eighth century.<sup>4</sup> Unprotected by the distant Abbasid government in Baghdad, they lay open to the predatory tribes in the neighbouring desert beyond the *hajj* road. In the twelfth century they were like Jerash, empty ruins which filled the Crusaders with amazement.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from inciting the bedawin to raid Frankish territory west of Jordan, the amirs of Damascus left the remoter parts of this territory very much alone. Most of the fighting between Ṭughtakīn and the Counts of Tiberias took place between Damascus and the Lake. At first Tancred had naïvely called upon Ṭughtakīn to give up Damascus as well as his religion, and go and live wherever else he chose.<sup>6</sup> After ten years of almost annual raids Ṭughtakīn had at last to concede to Baldwin I one-third of the revenues of the region between the Ḥaurān and ash-Sharī'a or Outre-Mer, viz. the Sawād and Jabal 'Auf.<sup>7</sup> To secure payment the Counts built a castle sixteen miles east of Tiberias, strongly placed on a cliff above an old laura.<sup>8</sup> It changed hands more than once. Ṭughtakīn, 'mout disloiall et plein de grant felonie', retaliated by fortifying Jerash. Baldwin I captured this fort in returning from a raid on Damascus in 1121 but left no garrison behind him; Jabal 'Auf was too isolated.<sup>9</sup> No other effort was made to hold it; though Baldwin again attacked Damascus in force in 1129.<sup>10</sup> The second generation came to acquiesce

<sup>1</sup> Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, II. 61.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', *Géog.* II. ii. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Crowfoot, 'Churches at Jerash', p. 5 (*B.S.A. Jerusalem, Supp. Papers*, 3, 1931.)

<sup>5</sup> 'Civitatem quamdam mirabiliter et gloriose situ forti antiquitus fundatam, lapidibus magnis et quadris illuc erectum erat.' Fulcher, III. 10, *Rec. Hist. Occid.*, III.

<sup>6</sup> Albert, VII. 16, 17.

<sup>7</sup> Sibṭ, 537; Abū Shāma, 'Livre des Deux Jardins', in *Rec. Hist. Or.* IV, p. 277, writing of the fall of Tiberias, says they were halved at that time (1187) and drawn from a larger area which included as-Salt, al-Balqā, Jabal 'Auf, al-Ḥayyāniyyah, as-Sawād and also the Jaulān and the surrounding country as far as the Ḥaurān. According to Yāqūt, II. 374, al-Ḥayyāniyyah is part of the Sawād overlooking the Jordan valley, situated in Jabal Hirsh (جبل حرش) perhaps an error for Jabal Jarash (جبل جرش). Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, 315, reading al-Ḥayyāniyyah (الحيانيه) for al-Jabāniyyah (الجبانيه).

<sup>8</sup> William of Tyre, XXII. 15; Sibṭ, 529, 530, 544; Ibn al-Athīr, 286, 315, and note pp. 781, 784; Yāqūt, II. 201. Sibṭ, p. 530 refers to it as 'Āl; Ibn al-Athīr calls it Ḥabis; Yāqūt, Ḥabis Jaldik. It stood at al-Ḥabis on the south side of the Yarmuk valley, opposite Shajara Sta. (Kilo, 119.5); cf. *Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme*, Berlin (1918), 37, 74-3500: ZDPV, XLIX (1926), 147 or Steuernagel, *Der Adschlun*, 531 ff., also Tafeln 80-2.

<sup>9</sup> Fulcher, III. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, 127 ff.

in the status quo. They did not whole-heartedly support Louis VII and Conrad in their siege of Damascus because they had come to rely upon the neutrality of the amirs. They continued to do so even after Nūr ad-dīn's capture of Damascus in 1154. Thus the *Banū 'Auf* kept their independence, and their territory remained a no-man's land.

A change came when Saladin finally returned from Egypt in 1182. Master of Egypt and so able to consolidate his position in Syria, he soon found that his most formidable adversary was Reginald of Kerak whose castles in Syria Sobal or Outre Mer were a standing menace to his communications. Saladin had narrowly escaped him on his march through to Damascus in 1182.<sup>1</sup> After Reginald's astonishing attempt to sack the Holy Cities of Arabia in the following year Saladin spared no effort to crush him.<sup>2</sup> He invested Kerak twice, in 1183 and 1184,<sup>3</sup> and at this juncture took steps to establish himself farther north in Jabal 'Auf or 'Ajlūn, the territory which lay between Damascus and his implacable enemy. In 1184-5 'Izz ad-dīn Usāma, one of his ablest amirs was transferred to 'Ajlūn from Bairut and the building of the castle begun.<sup>4</sup> It arose as a direct retort to the new Latin castle of Belvoir or *Kaukab al-Hawā*, 'Star of the Air', loftily placed on the escarpment on the opposite side of the Jordan valley, between Tiberias and Baisan. The new Moslem castle at 'Ajlūn might deter the Latins from raiding the Sawād as they had done in the year of Saladin's return, recapturing their outpost at Ḥabīs Jaldik and penetrating as far as Bostra and Damascus;<sup>5</sup> but chiefly it served to check Reginald of Kerak by bringing northern Trans-Jordan under the control of Damascus.

The story of the building is most fully told by a thirteenth-century writer, Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī;<sup>6</sup> briefly followed in the fourteenth by Abu-l-Fidā' and extensively by al-'Umarī, author of the Chancery Manuals *Masālik al-Absār* and *at-Ta'rīf*, later summed up by Qalqashandī in a similar manual entitled *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*.<sup>7</sup> To quote from van Berchem's abridged translation of Ibn Shaddād's unpublished manuscript:

'The castle of 'Ajlūn lies between the district of the Sawād, belonging to the Jordan

<sup>1</sup> William of Tyre, XXII. 15; Ibn al-Athīr, 651.

<sup>2</sup> Abū Shāma, *Rec. Hist. Or.*, IV. 230 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, 660, cf. Stevenson, 228; Schlumberger, *Renaud de Châtillon*, Chap. VII.

<sup>3</sup> William of Tyre, XXII. 28, 30; Ibn al-Athīr, 664, 666; Abū Shāma, 248, 250 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', *Rec. Hist. Or.*, I. 70, 86, 143; Géographie (trans. Renaud), t. II, ii, pp. 6, 22; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 76, 388, 389; for the date A.H. 580, Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, IV. 105; XII. 105.

<sup>5</sup> William of Tyre, XXII. 20, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Van Berchem, 'Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien, II', in *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1903, pp. 54 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, p. 66, for references and translation.

province, and the district of Sharāt. It is new and small and stands on a projecting spur overlooking the Jordan Valley, visible both from Jerusalem and from the Nablus ridge. Its longitude works out at 69°, its latitude 32° 10'.<sup>1</sup> The range on which it is built is called Jabal 'Auf, because a clan of the *Banū 'Auf* lived there under the early Fatimite khalifs. They had doughty and restless amirs who were at feud with one another because their families were at odds. So things stood until the time of Malik al-Ādil Saif ad-dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb (Saladin's brother) who gave the district as a fief to 'Izz ad-dīn Usāma, one of his chief amirs.<sup>2</sup> He at once began to build a castle to protect his governors from the *Banū 'Auf*. But they hindered him so much that he represented to them that he was building it merely to protect them against the Franks. Then they grew amenable and helped him to build it. When it was finished he invited the sheikhs of the *Banū 'Auf* to the castle and set a banquet before them. When they had eaten he ordered his young slaves to seize them and lock them up.

It is said that an ancient monastery once stood on the site, inhabited by a Christian named 'Ajlūn;<sup>3</sup> the monastery falling into ruin, the castle took its place and the name of the monk. [An excursus follows in which mention is made of a book entitled *Kitāb al-Diyārāt*, "The Book of Monasteries"] . . .

The position was well chosen. Not only does it command an uninterrupted view of the whole length of the Jordan between the two lakes and of the Palestine ridge from Jerusalem to Tabor, Kaukab, and Safad, but it also dominates one of three valleys which lead straight up to the high land on the Transjordan side. This is the middle one, the Wādī Kafrinjī; to the south parallel with it runs the Wādī Rājib, the route by which the Hasmoneans used to raid the Hellenistic colonies later known as the Decapolis;<sup>4</sup> to the north runs the Wādī Yābis by which the Roman road ascended from Pella (Fahl) to Jerash by way of Ba'ūn and 'Ain Jenni.<sup>5</sup> These wadis fall rapidly to the Jordan; only a few miles from the watershed they are huge clefts sloping steeply on either hand to a depth of not less than 1,000 feet. Above such a valley stands the castle of 'Ajlūn. Its site is a round knoll at the western end of a projecting shoulder of the main range, its height not much lower than the watershed itself. The knoll is separated from the shoulder by a slight saddle, but unlike the majority of the mountain castles 'Ajlūn is accessible by an easy slope on all sides (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere a rock promontory was almost invariably chosen, protected by cliffs on three sides and cut off from the mountain on

<sup>1</sup> According to an Arabized version of the Ptolemaic system.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly governor of Bairut; not to be confused with 'Usāma ibn Munqidh of Shaizar, as Qalqashandī has in his *Daw'*, p. 286; cf. R. Hartmann, 'Politische Geographie des Mamlūkenreichs' in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXX, 1916, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. Judges iii. 12. Yāqūt, II. 61, adopts a similar explanation for the name of Jarash, adding the genealogy of its patronymic.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Jannaeus died at the siege of Ragaba, cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* ed. Niese, XIII. 398 (= XV. 5).

<sup>5</sup> Steuernagel, *Der 'Adschlun*, 1927, 396.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dalman, *Fliegerbilder aus Palästina*, no. 86.

the fourth by a short rock-hewn fosse. At 'Ajlūn, for lack of a position of this sort, 'Izz ad-dīn Usāma chose the last high point on the north side of the valley and then isolated the castle by surrounding it with a rock-cut fosse.

As the building was adapted to the rock surface, the ground levels vary considerably (Plates XX–XXIII). The crest of the knoll occurs near the western angle of the castle and forms an upper platform, falling away on the south and east. It was scarped along all four sides, outside the western angle to form the fosse, and on either side of the eastern angle, to make two lower platforms. The general direction of the slope is shown by the ramp which ascends from the central tower (1) to the inner ward (5) (cf. A–B). Farther south it is so much steeper that the fosse was formed chiefly by embanking the counter-scarp. On the other three sides it was excavated in the rock; the height of the counter-scarp, naturally less than the scarp, varies from 5 to 10 metres, the width between the scarp and the walls from 15 to 20 metres, excepting where it was crossed. Here a tongue and a pillar of rock were reserved to carry the bridge over two spans of about 5 metres each (Fig. 2).

The upper platform is occupied by a quadrilateral of four square towers (1, 2, 3, 4) connected by curtain walls; only one tower (1) still stands at its original height; (2), (3), and the outer face of (4) have been ruined almost to their foundations and since rebuilt of smaller material, like the curtain walls between them (Fig. 6). Their height and the placing of their original doors and arrow-slits is therefore a matter of conjecture. This quadrilateral in the form of a *castellum*<sup>1</sup> seems to have been the nucleus of the castle and may be loosely called the keep. Its only entrance was in the east wall at (5), which was flanked by both of the corner towers (1) and (4), assuming that the present door into (4) is an enlarged arrow-slit. The arrow-slits in the east and south curtain walls, as well as in the towers (1) and (4) have mostly been masked by subsequent building, but the window openings are still to be seen on the inside. The original outer gate was probably at (6) bonded into the south-east tower (1) of the keep and connected with the north-east tower (4) by a wall which has slits now blocked by a mezzanine floor; the lower windows are of a later type and like the door are possibly alterations. The gate was protected by a *machicoulis* with two corbels (Fig. 5), which had to be removed after the earthquake of 1927 because they were cracked.

On the lower platforms of rock under the eastern and southern sides of the keep were two baileys. The eastern was the larger and had corner towers (7) and (8), flanking the curtain walls (Figs. 2, 4). The eastern wall must have had arrow-slits, now ruined. The rock level here is low enough for a gallery to

<sup>1</sup> Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Grec. et Rom.*, s.v.

have been built without masking the east of the keep, as the upper galleries did later. When these were put on the towers were also raised; the original height of (7) is shown by the built-up crenellations just above the second floor (Fig. 2) which eventually led out on to the roof of the top gallery. Similarly the north tower (8) may at first have been one or two stories shorter (Fig. 4). Between the south tower (7) and the gate (6) there was presumably another curtain wall which was pulled down during later alterations. The southern bailey built above the steeper slope towards the wadi had no towers, and like the eastern it originally had no upper galleries above (11) and (12). The outer wall was pierced with arrow-slits of which two are still to be seen at the west end of the outer gallery (12); the others are conjectural since the rest of the gallery is choked with debris from the upper floors, while the south wall has been largely rebuilt and the north-eastern end refaced on the outside. The open roof of these galleries could be covered by the fire of the south side of the keep.

Completing the gap at the end of the inner gallery (11) we arrive at a possible plan of the castle built by 'Izz ad-dīn Usāma in the reign of Saladin. It is a structural whole; it contains five out of the six rock-hewn cisterns within the present walls including the largest; and it is distinguished from the newer part of the completed building by heavier and cruder work, and more particularly by its windows. These are of the simplest and strongest form, wedge-shaped in plan, narrowing to a slit on the outside and covered with a tapering arch (Fig. 7). These occur only in the parts already described, viz. the keep, the lower towers (7) and (8) and the outer south gallery (12), and nowhere else. Elsewhere, in the additional south tower (13) (Fig. 8), along the ramp (15) leading from the fosse to the first ward (14) as well as the upper stories of the older part, the typical window is of a more developed form. The slit is contained in a larger arched niche which takes up the greater part of the thickness of the wall (Fig. 7). Frequently the arrow-slit is made up of removable blocks inserted in a square opening which could thus be opened to the air in times of peace and clement weather. It partly resembles the intermediate form introduced by al-Ādil into his brother Saladin's citadel in Cairo about 1200.<sup>1</sup> At Ajlūn it is distinctive of the large southern tower (13) which is precisely dated by an inscription to the year 611 = A.D. 1214-5.<sup>2</sup> It was put up by Aibak b. 'Abdullah, Mamluk and Major-domo (*ustādh ad-dār*) to al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, son of al-Ādil.<sup>3</sup> From its position half-way up the east

<sup>1</sup> Creswell, 'Archaeological Researches at the Citadel of Cairo' in *BIFAO*, XXIII (1924), 117, 118, 121, and Pl. XV; cf. also XIII, A.

<sup>2</sup> Van Berchem, 'Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien II' in *MuNDPV*, 1903, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, under *Aibeg*, p. 208.

face of the tower (Fig. 8: F on the second plan) it can hardly be a later insertion. To Aibak then is due not only the south tower and the two outer gates, but in all probability the heightening of the older part of the building as well.

He was a man of energy, especially in building, which was one of the functions of the *ustādh ad-dār*, or *magister palatii*.<sup>1</sup> His inscriptions are scattered from Tabor and Khān al-'Aqabeh by the Sea of Tiberias to the desert frontier, and they cover nearly thirty years in which he advances from a mere major-domo to amir and finally the self-styled title of 'the great amir'.<sup>2</sup> Most of his work was done in the marcher district of Salkhad and Dhur'a of which he was 'Lord' (*ṣāhib*) from 1211-12 until his banishment a little after 1238. To encourage traffic between Damascus, the Hijaz, and 'Iraq, he built the castles of Salkhad and al-Azraq near 'Ammān, founded khans and repaired pools along the *hajj* road. 'Ajlūn was one of his earliest works.

'Izz ad-dīn Usāma was arrested and his castles besieged in 1211-12 by al-Mu'azzam the son of al-'Ādil acting under his father's orders. He was then imprisoned at Kerak and deprived of his province, viz. the Balqā, as-Salt and Jabal 'Auf. He had taken al-Afdal's side against al-'Ādil after Saladin's death and was still under suspicion; 'with this Usāma', wrote Abu-l-Fidā, 'perished the last of Saladin's faction'. Kaukab (or Belvoir), which had been added to his province after its fall in 1188, was now rased to the ground; 'Ajlūn and the rest of Usāma's province was retained by al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, who then put 'Izz ad-dīn Aibak in charge of Sarkhad (or Salkhad).<sup>3</sup> Al-Mu'azzam can have lost no time in strengthening and improving 'Ajlūn, the castle which he had himself captured, if the new tower was finished by his major-domo, Aibak, in 1214-15.

The new south tower (13) reinforced the older building where the siege had proved it to be weakest—the reflex angle between the two baileys or lower galleries. It is clearly an addition. Although the corners were bonded with the walls of the south bailey (12) it was built on a slightly different axis; the inner side of the south arm is a facing built against the outer wall of the gallery, as revealed by a straight joint in the L-shaped room on the first floor. A new ward (14) was built on at the north corner, joining it up with (7). Its outer gate (Fig. 9) was protected by a *machicoulis* looking down from the first floor. Each of the springers of the arch spanning the gateway has a device in relief; only one of them is at all recognizable, and seems to be a pair of

<sup>1</sup> Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mameluks*, I, 2, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Van Berchem, *MuNDPV*, 1903, 33 ff.; 'Eine arabische Inschrift aus dem Ostjordanlande' in *ZDPV*, XVI, p. 85; Dussaud-Macler, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie Moyenne*, pp. 326 ff.; 336 f.

<sup>3</sup> Abu-l-Fidā, *Rec. Hist. Or.*, I, 86; *MuNDPV*, 1903, 55; *Journal Asiatique*, ninth series, III, 397, 465, IV, 298 ff. (n. 29).

fighting peacocks. A corridor along the south-eastern face of (7) protected the ramp ascending from the bridge. The outermost gateway was protected by a *machicoulis* of nine openings, four of which covered the archway (Fig. 3). At the same time both sets of galleries were raised, possibly to their final height of two floors. These upper galleries are now badly ruined; the level of the floors must be deduced from the doors communicating with the towers, or from the mortar adhering to their faces where the vaults abutted. The inner of the two tall galleries over (9) and the part west of (10) alone remains (Figs. 10, 12); here the more finished cutting of the voussoirs agrees very well with the arching and corbelling in the new south tower (13) (Fig. 7). The airy rooms above the south-western tower of the keep (2) at the highest point of the building—doubtless the Commandant's quarters—may also belong to Aibak's improvements. Though the roof of every tower has gone the earlier example preserved in (7) suggests that they were similarly embattled (Fig. 2), while a section of the western walls has been restored upon the analogy of the bailey wall at Kerak, which is thirteenth-century work. The two western towers of the keep (2) and (3) are also almost complete ruins; it is assumed that like (1) and (4) they were two floors high. Of the fosse three sides had no doubt been excavated when the castle was first begun, if only as a limestone quarry; the scarping of the south side however, with its vaulted cistern (16), must be Aibak's work since it follows so closely the line of his additions.

Apart from the difference in the windows and in the finish of arches already referred to, the later construction is indistinguishable from the earlier; scarcely thirty years had elapsed. The external masonry of both periods was in the local rusticated style, *ṭubzī maxmūl* or quarry-faced, chisel-dressed a few centimetres deep around the margin (Fig. 11). In appearance it resembles the rectangular towers of al-Ādil's time in the citadel at Cairo (1207–8),<sup>1</sup> or the contemporary work in the Jerusalem citadel such as the lower part of the Mosque tower which bears an inscription of al-Mu'azzam dated 610 A.H., a year earlier than Aibak's at 'Ajlūn.<sup>2</sup> These are only the two most accessible examples of many that exist; it is a robust and economical style of dressing that has been traditional in the country at least since Roman times, though there are still older examples. The present appearance of the western and southern angles of the castle (Fig. 6) is obviously due to a later repair. The main defensive walls were all from 2 to 3 metres thick, yet they were regularly bonded with through stones and well bedded; unlike the run of Byzantine and medieval work consisting of ashlar skins with a rubble filling,

<sup>1</sup> Creswell, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Van Berchem, *CIA*, II, *Syrie du Sud*, I. i, no. 43, p. 131.

the 'Ajlūn walls seem to be almost solid masonry. The coursing is fairly even, varying from 70 cm. near the foundations to 60 cm. in the upper stories. The stones are generally  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 metres long, 60 to 70 cm. wide, though the quoins of the south tower are as much as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  metres in length; the upper stones are naturally smaller, sometimes no more than half the size of the lower.<sup>1</sup> The quarry faces were hammered almost flat, and the margins worked flat with a pointed chisel (*shōkeh*) or comb-pick (*shahūṭa*); in the later work the voussoirs were chiselled all over with flat bosses projecting some 3 or 4 cms. from the margin. The vaults are all in the local tradition, most of them barrel-shaped ('*aqd 'enbūb*) built of tapering field stones set in lime mortar (Fig. 12); some diagonal groined vaults occur (*ṣalīb* = cross). They usually spring from the top of the ashlar, a metre or two from the floor, but in the newer work corbels were used (Fig. 7). They were usually rendered, together with the internal faces of the walls. Indeed the common tradition of the country runs through the whole building. A few relics of the Roman occupation survive. A well-cut limestone conch and some limestone mouldings were found in the top room of the new tower, mostly double cyma recta of shallow cut. A piece of boldly cut relief, a lintel crudely carved with a cross, and one or two finely dressed stones were also built in. With the possible exception of the mouldings this was secondary material taken from some ancient ruin either on the same site, or else from a Byzantine town in the valley on the site of modern 'Ajlūn. That an older building may have existed on the same site is suggested by some very fine masonry which was laid bare in the course of buttressing the southern angle (of 12). Of Crusading work, that is, of later Western influence, there is no trace apart from one or two stones with the characteristic diagonal chisel-dressing. If the village of Kafrinji on the opposite side of the valley was really inhabited by Franks as its name suggests (Kafr al-Franj); and if they were prisoners who were forced to work on the building they contributed nothing distinctive such as the cut-stone vaulting which is common in the twelfth-century churches. Such Frankish features as the castle has, or such as modern travellers have detected,<sup>2</sup> were the fruit of local tradition and of common experience in the wars rather than of direct foreign influence.

Aibak then left the castle much as it is shown in the sections; it was afterwards restored but no important additions were made. By extending the outer defences he strengthened it where it was weakest, but in doing so he masked the keep and somewhat obscured the original plan. Apart from the long staircase returning from the wall of the eastern gallery (9') to the roof,

<sup>1</sup> Schumacher seemed to think that the difference in size represented two periods, *Steuernagel, Der Adschlun*, 311. <sup>2</sup> Cf. Le Strange, in Schumacher's *Across the Jordan* (1886), pp. 285 ff.

the keep remained a self-contained whole, yet it was less defensible on account of the surrounding galleries which shortened its field of fire. Aibak placed greater reliance upon the outer enceinte, principally upon the new south tower, a lofty bastion covering the whole of the south side, and next upon the two extra gates, each covered by a *machicoulis*, still a recent invention. Not that the castle had to withstand any determined siege. When the Latin kingdom and Kerak fell only a few years after its foundation it had outlived its strategic usefulness. In the thirteenth century it became an administrative centre in the south march of Damascus, the head-quarters of a governor (*nā'ib*) directly responsible to the royal *nā'ib* in Damascus.<sup>1</sup> The *nā'ib* had a resident warden (*wālī*) who was specially responsible for the maintenance and defence of the castle. *Nā'ib* and *wālī* are Mamluk ranks but their relationship is well illustrated by al-Mu'azzam and Aibak. Qalqashandī's compendium of Mamluk official procedure (*Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*) gives a typical warrant of appointment which specifies the duties of the two officials: to keep the castle in repair and guard it against all strangers, to collect revenues in kind in order to keep it provisioned in readiness for a siege and to do justice.<sup>2</sup> Thus 'Ajlun became an arsenal also; in 1217 for instance it was one of the centres where supplies were concentrated for the relief of Damietta.<sup>3</sup> The long, gloomy galleries outside the keep were perhaps magazines rather than inhabited quarters, and timber, charcoal, and iron their particular stock. The pride of 'Ajlūn is still its trees, chiefly small scrub oak; thus charcoal was to hand. Good iron ore occurs near the surface at the southern end of the range, on the north side of the Zarqā valley.<sup>4</sup> It was mined and smelted as late as the time of Ibrāhīm Pasha, within the memory of families still living there. There must have been similar workings near 'Ajlūn which are now forgotten. The heaps of iron slag which are to be found all over the eastern and southern slopes of the castle hill, and in the modern village of 'Ajlūn where it has recently been used as road metal, point to a considerable number of small bloom furnaces. Nor is it likely that all the refined metal was sent to Damascus to be worked, since a small knife-making industry is still carried on in Kafrinjī. It is not surprising that an extensive suburb grew up round the foot of the hill, which was large enough to give the castle its later name, Qal'at ar-Rabaḍ, 'the castle with the faubourg'. From the archaeological evidence it was inhabited from the thirteenth until the end of the fifteenth century; the medieval town of 'Ajlūn two or three miles farther up the wadi, now the centre of the district, flourished at the same time. In

<sup>1</sup> Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 1923, p. 179.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid., cviii, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, 1898, 726, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly the 'Iron Mountain' of Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* (Niese), IV. 455 (= viii. 2).

1355 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found it 'a fine town with good markets and a strong castle. A stream runs through the town and the waters are sweet and good'.<sup>1</sup> Dimishqī who came about 1300 also found 'fruits of all kinds and provisions in plenty'.<sup>2</sup> He first saw the fortress four days' march away, or nearly fifty miles off, presumably from across the Ghor, i.e. the Jordan valley. Its exceptionally lofty position made it an excellent beacon-station; and in the shorter Mamluk geographical hand-book (*at-Ta'rīf*) 'Ajlūn is mentioned as a link between at-Ṭurra and Ṭayyibat al-Ism via Ibzīq in the chain of beacons and pigeon posts by which an alarm of the Euphrates frontier could be conveyed to the Sultan in Cairo between sunset and sunrise or sunrise and sunset. 'Ajlūn and Irbid picked up the south-bound signals from at-Ṭurra, a beacon on the *hajj* road a few miles west of Der'a, and passed them back to Ṭayyibat al-Ism just south of Shaikh Sa'd on the *hajj* road and actually farther north than at-Ṭurra. From there, however, they were visible at a special station situated on the hills overlooking Baisan and at the same time at points along the regular postal route which crossed the Jordan at Jisr al-Majāmi' and passed through Jenin, where the news could also be received via another beacon at Ibzīq north-east of Nablus. From Jenin the chain ran on to Gaza, thence to Cairo by pigeon post'.<sup>3</sup>

The rulers of 'Ajlūn who followed al-Mu'azzam are given in the manuscript by Ibn Shaddād, already quoted in van Berchem's translation.

'After his [al-Mu'azzam's] death in Dhu-l-Qa'da, 624 [1227], it fell to his son Malik Nāṣir Dāwūd, who held it along with Damascus, Kerak and Shaubak. When Malik Kāmil came into possession of Damascus and handed the city over to Malik Ashraf, the former left to Malik Nāṣir Kerak, Shaubak, and the lands of the Jordan Valley, but 'Ajlūn fell to Malik Ashraf until his death on 4 Muḥarram, 635 [1237]. Then the Amir Zāhir ad-dīn ibn Sunqur al-Ḥalabī, who was in the Malik Nāṣir's service at Nablus, entered into correspondence with the then governor of 'Ajlūn and offered him 40,000 dirhams, a robe of honour, a riding horse and various stuffs, in order that the latter should hand over the castle to the officers of Malik Nāṣir Dāwūd. When Dāwūd took the Amir Saif ad-dīn 'Alī ibn Qilij Nūrī into his service in Dhu-l-qa'da in 639 [1242], he gave him the castle to hold; he held it until Malik Šāliḥ Ayyūb [of Egypt] occupied it in the year 643 [1245-6]. When the latter died on the 15 Sha'bān 647 [1249] it remained in the hands of the representative of his son Malik Mu'azzam [Tūrān-Shāh] until his death in Muḥarram 648 [1250]. Then Malik Nāṣir [Yūsuf], lord of Aleppo, put himself in possession of Damascus and 'Ajlūn. . . . When the Tartars conquered Syria and brought Nāṣir's reign to an end the latter fled from Damascus. His governor in 'Ajlūn had refused the castle to the Tartars until Malik Nāṣir took refuge there and himself surrendered it in Rajab [658 = 1260]. The enemy consumed

<sup>1</sup> Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 388.

<sup>3</sup> Trans. R. Hartmann, *ZDMG*, Vol. LXX, 1916, pp. 503 ff.

all the provisions and stores there . . . threw down the battlements, but kept possession until they were routed at the battle of 'Ain Jālūt in Ramaḍān 658 [1260]. Then Malik Muẓaffar [Qutuz of Egypt] gained possession and had it put in order. When he was killed in Dhu-l-Qa'da and Malik Zāhir [Baybars] became ruler of Egypt and Syria, he made for 'Ajlūn as soon as he had entered Damascus in Ṣafar, 659 [1261], put the castle in order, revictualled it and appointed 'Izz ad-dīn Aibak 'Allānī as governor. The latter looked after it until he was offered the newly captured castle of Safad and was replaced here by the Amir Saif ad-dīn who is warden at the present day, that is, at the time when we began to write this book [about 674 (1275-6)]. When Malik Zāhir died on 28 Muḥarram 676 [1277] it went to his son Malik Sa'id Muḥammad Barakat-Qān, then on the 18 Rabi' II. 678 [1279] to his brother Malik 'Adil Salāmish . . . , then on the 25 Rajab of the same year to Malik Maṣṣūr Qalāwūn, who sent there his governors, and it is still in his possession.'

In 1288-9 twenty-eight years after his first appointment 'Izz ad-dīn Aibak b. Abdallāh [al-'Allānī] formerly *mamluk* of Malik Maṣṣūr [Qalāwūn], amir, general, still describes himself in an inscription as warden or military governor (*mutawallī*) of 'Ajlūn.<sup>1</sup> About the same time the commissioner (*nā'ib*) of the province was the amir Rukn ad-dīn Mankūwīresh, a former page of Malik Maṣṣūr.<sup>2</sup> A civil governor (*ḥākim*) of the early fourteenth century is also known, an Egyptian judge, Tāj addīn Muḥammad al-Ikhnā'ī.<sup>3</sup>

The history of the fabric since the first Aibak's extension is mostly conjecture. Restoration was certainly carried out shortly before the Tartar invasion; the work is recorded in an inscription recovered in 1927.<sup>4</sup> It took place 'in the time of our lord the Sultan al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-dīn Yūsuf, son of al-Malik al-'Azīz, God be praised, may He preserve his kingdom'. It was done 'under the direction of Muḥammad Zaid, lord of 'Aintāb' who had presumably followed his lord, 'Malik Nāṣir, lord of Aleppo' of the previous extract, southwards when he made himself Sultan of Damascus in 1250. Al-Malik an-Nāṣir surrendered 'Ajlūn to the Tartars early in 1260 and died the same year;<sup>5</sup> the work must therefore have been done some time between 1250 and 1260, probably between 1253 and 1260 since the lord of 'Aintāb before 651 was not Muḥammad Zaid.<sup>6</sup> The inscription lay on the vault of the outer eastern gallery at (E) on the plan and sections, having fallen from one of the walls. Burckhardt may have seen it in position as late as 1812; 'as

<sup>1</sup> Inscription commemorating restoration of *wali* of Shaikh 'Alī of Mashhad on a peak west of 'Ajlūn, *MuNDPV*, 1903, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription from northern suburb of castle, from mosque, *MuNDPV*, 1903, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription beside door of 'Ajlūn mosque, *MuNDPV*, 1903, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> To be published in a later number.

<sup>5</sup> Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam*, 1927, p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> Ṭabbākh, *A'lām an-nubalā'*, IV. 331.

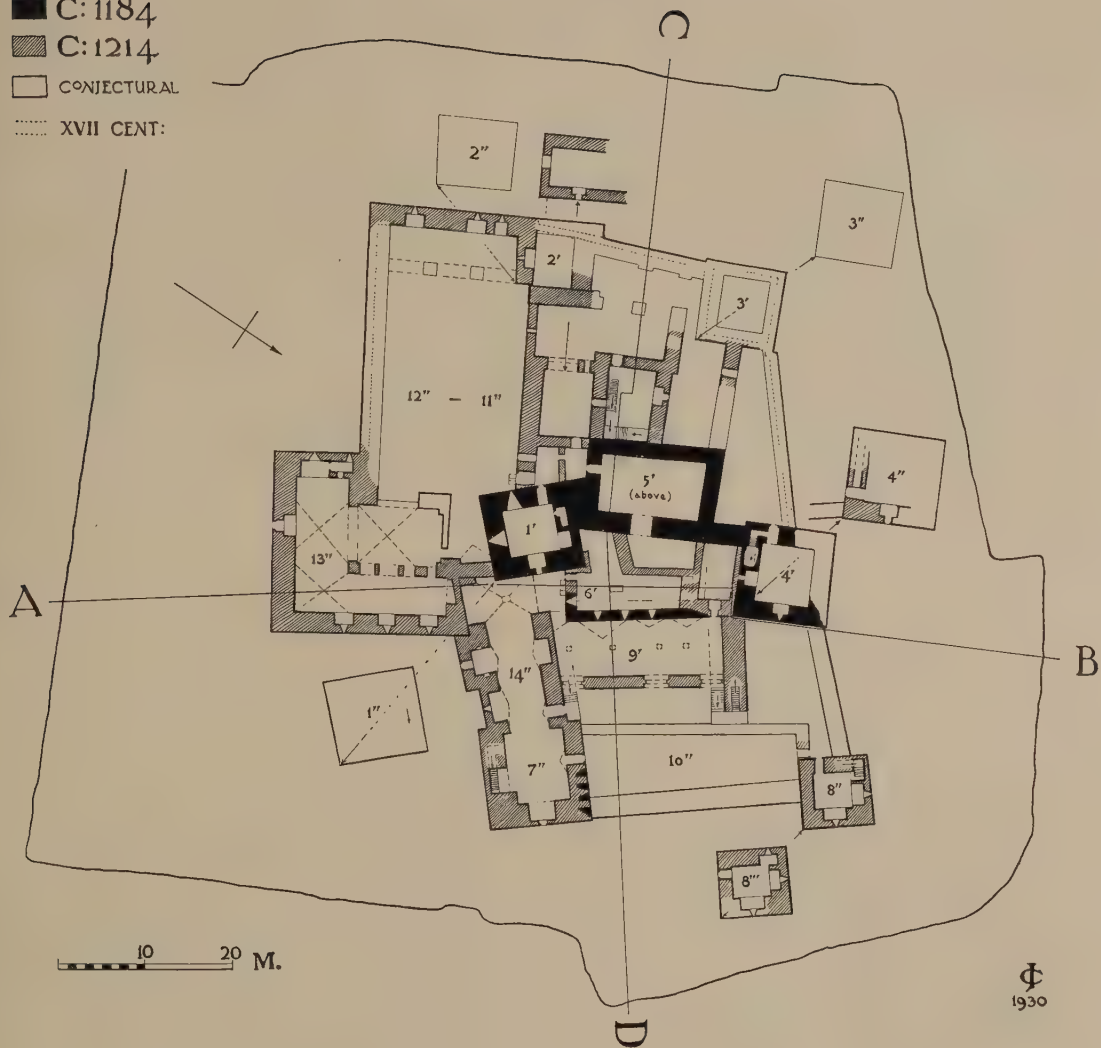
■ C: 1184  
 ▨ C: 1214

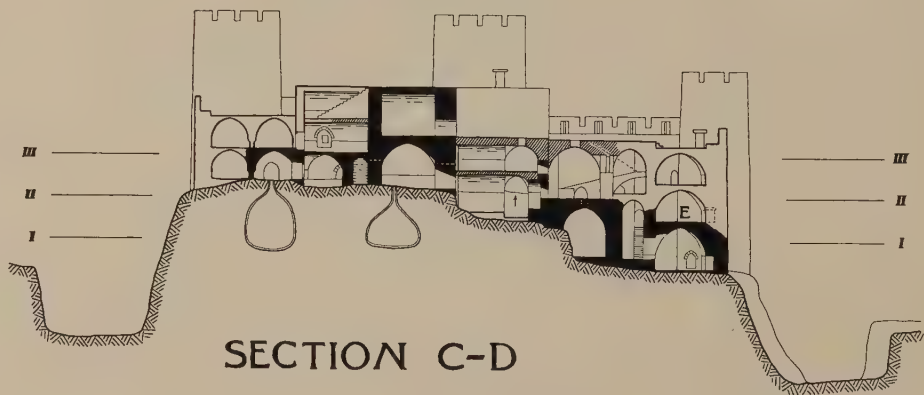


- C: 1184
- ▨ C: 1214
- CONJECTURAL



- C: 1184
- ▨ C: 1214
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0 10 20 M.



FIG. 1. The Castle from the north-east



FIG. 2. The entrance from the north showing blocked battlements on the north side of the tower (7)

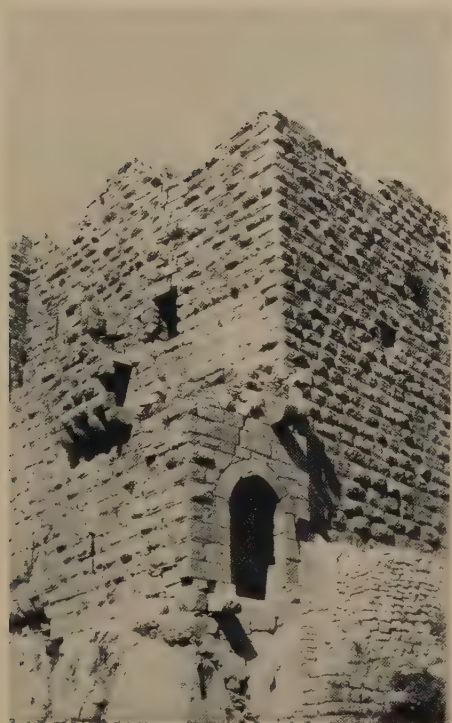


FIG. 3. The entrance from the east



FIG. 4. Tower (8) from the west



FIG. 5. Finial of corbel formerly at (6), on end



FIG. 7. First floor of the new tower (13), showing later type of window

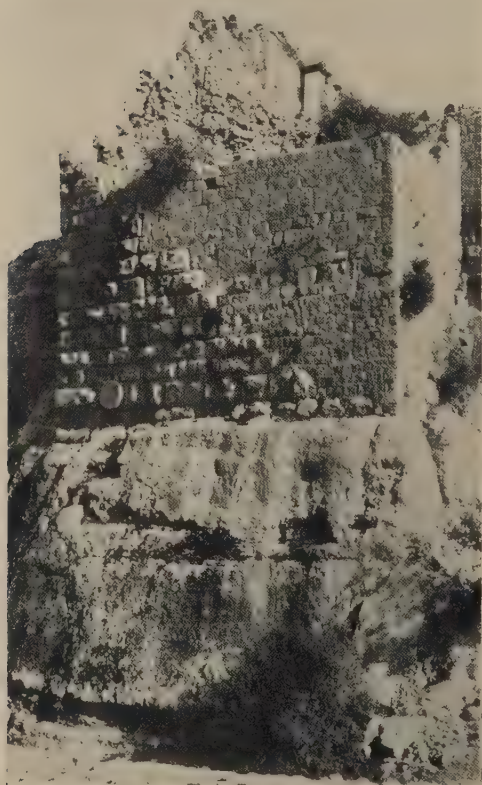


FIG. 6. Tower (4) from W. showing bonded column, and 17th cent. repairs



Fig. 8. New tower (13) from E. Taking a squeeze of the inscription



FIG. 9. Inner entrance to the new ward  
(Pl. XX, 14)



FIG. 10. Upper gallery (Pl. XXI) between 9' and 10'



FIG. 11. N.E. face of tower (Pl. XXII, 1') showing  
older stone under window



FIG. 12. Upper gallery (Pl. XXI, 9') showing  
staircase at north end



appears from several Arabic inscriptions', he wrote '[the castle] was built by Sultan Szelah-eddyn', confusing the greater Saladin with the lesser.<sup>1</sup> How far the castle was damaged by the Mongols and to what extent it was altered in the course of repairs it is hard to tell. During their rapid sweep through the country in the spring and summer of 1260 they cannot have had much opportunity for destroying at all thoroughly the nine castles which they captured. Fourteenth-century travellers were as much impressed as ever with the impregnable strength of 'Ajlūn. It can hardly have been in the sorry state which called for such hasty rebuilding as the patchwork of smaller masonry along the western faces of the keep, or at the south-west angle of the castle. This corner was so shattered that it has had to be heavily buttressed. Masonry of this sort cannot compare with the Mamluk additions to Kerak. On general grounds the suggestion that it belongs to Fakhr ad-dīn, the seventeenth-century pasha of Acre, is not unlikely.<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps it represents nothing more than local efforts on the part of the inhabitants to make good the effects of earthquakes, the common doom of the best buildings of the country.

The castle seems to have suffered heavily in the great earthquake of 1837. Before the recent work access was difficult, yet when Burckhardt visited the castle in 1812 it was still inhabited 'by about forty persons of the great family of Barekat'. His experiences with the residents are perhaps more remarkable than his observations on the building itself. He wrote:<sup>3</sup>

'It is the residence of the chief of the district of Adjeloun. The house of Barekat, in whom the authority has for many years resided, had lately been quarrelling about it among themselves; the chief, Yusef al-Barekat, had been besieged for several months in the castle; he was now gone to the Aga of Tabaria, to engage him in his interests; and his family were left in the castle with strict instructions not to let any unknown person enter it, and to keep the gate secured. I had letters of recommendation from Yusef, the Mutsellim of Damascus; when I arrived at the castle gate all the inhabitants assembled upon the wall to enquire who I was and what I wanted. I explained to them the nature of my visit, and showed them the Mutsellim's letter, upon which they opened the iron gate, but continued to entertain great suspicion of me until a man who could read having been sent for, my letter was read aloud; all the family then vied in civilities towards me, especially when I told them I intended to proceed to Tabaria. . . .'

C. N. J.

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1822, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Biblique*, 1928, p. 432, where a small garrison of Ibrahim Pasha is also mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels*, 1822, p. 266.

(To be continued.)

## A FATIMID COIN-DIE

IN October 1926 the Museum acquired a coin-die (Inventory No. 1. 1070) reported to have been found at Amman. It consists of two cylinders made of bronze, now slightly corroded. Their total height is 117 mm., and the diameter of each face measures 28 mm. The bottom of the pile has been cut into a tooth-shaped form probably for the purpose of driving it into a wooden stand. The top of the trussel is slightly spread as from the blows of a hammer. The designs are engraved in both trussel and pile.

The inscriptions on the coin-faces read as follows:

*Obverse* (produced by the pile):

First margin: Apostolic mission up to ولو كره ال

Second margin: illegible.

In centre: محمد رسول الله  
على ولي الله

*Reverse*:

First margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينر بمصر سنة اثنى وسبعين وثلثمائة<sup>(1)</sup>

Second margin: عبد الله ووليه نزار الامام العزيز بالله امير [المؤمنين]

In centre: pellet within circle.

The die served, therefore, in the production of gold coins of the Fatimid Khalif Abū Maṣṣūr Nazār al-‘Azīz billāh in the year 372 H. (A.D. 982-3) in Cairo.

‘The subject’ of coin-dies ‘is one in which it is particularly desirable to guard against forgeries.’<sup>1</sup> Bearing this warning in mind, we examined our coin-die with special care before it was acquired. There is no doubt that the die is an ancient object, but the problem that does arise is whether it was actually used in the official mint (*dār al-ḍarb*), or in the workshop of some forger.

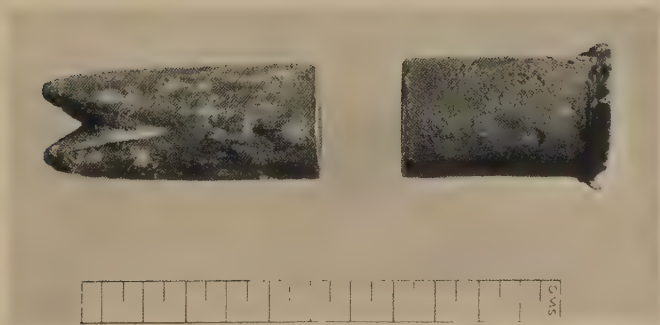
Comparing the coin-face of our die with two dinars of Nazār struck in Cairo in 372, casts of which are reproduced on Pl. XXVII, fig. 3, 4,<sup>2</sup> we note two points of difference. One of these is an addition to the text, the words

<sup>1</sup> Hill, ‘Ancient Methods of Coining’, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1922, p. 13 n. 33. Similar warnings in Kubitschek, ‘Münzstempel des Nationalmuseums in Sofia’, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, N.F., Vol. XVIII, 1925, pp. 133-5.

<sup>2</sup> Lane-Poole, B.M. IV, No. 58, p. 15; Lavoix, *Catalogue, Égypte et Syrie*, No. 145, p. 62.



I



2



3



4

A FATIMID COIN-DIE



'Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allāh, 'Alī is the Friend of Allāh', in the centre of the obverse of the die being missing in the dinars in London and Paris, both of which show a pellet within a circle instead. The other point of difference is in the character of the engraving on the dinars; for whilst the letters on the cast have graceful and well-set vertical strokes occupying as large a space as possible of each circle, those on the die are thinner and show much more of the background of their respective circles, and are engraved in a rather unsteady hand.

The die obviously being an ancient counterfeit, the question arises as to the originator of the fraud. Was it a private individual or an organized body? Naturally we should think first of those Crusaders who freely copied Fatimid coins. But comparing the die with the coins published by Lavoix,<sup>1</sup> we observe two differences: one as to date, the other as to style. The examples quoted by the French numismatist are modelled after dinars of very late Fatimids (457 and 516 A.H.), whereas our die served to produce coins dated 372 A.H.; moreover, the script of the Crusaders' forgeries showed a tendency, as time went on, to become flat and wide, like the letters on their own Latin coinage, which is just the opposite to what we considered to be the main characteristics of our dinar as compared with genuine pieces. We are probably justified, therefore, in assuming that we are here dealing with a die made by some private individual under the Fatimids, very likely before the time of the Crusaders, and possibly not long after 372 A.H. L. A. M.

<sup>1</sup> *Monnaies à légendes arabes, frappées en Syrie par les Croisés*, Paris, 1877.

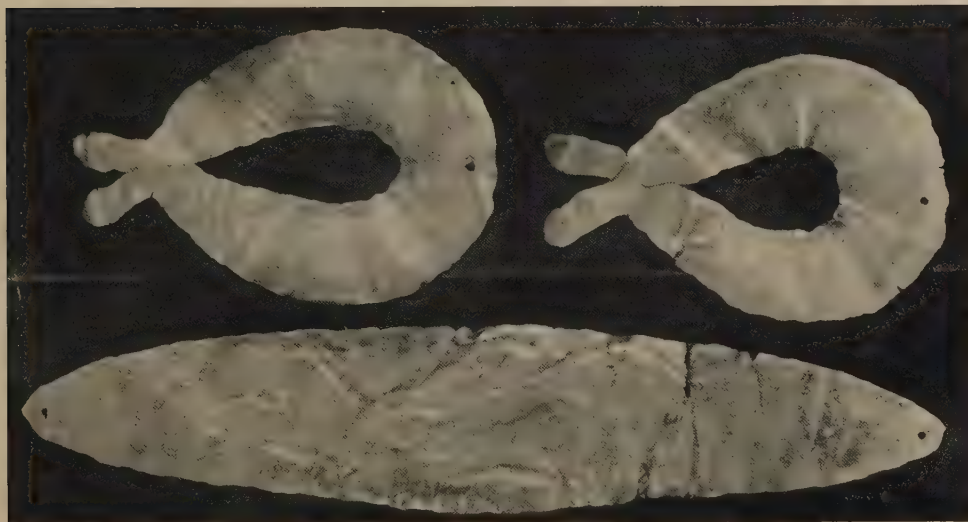
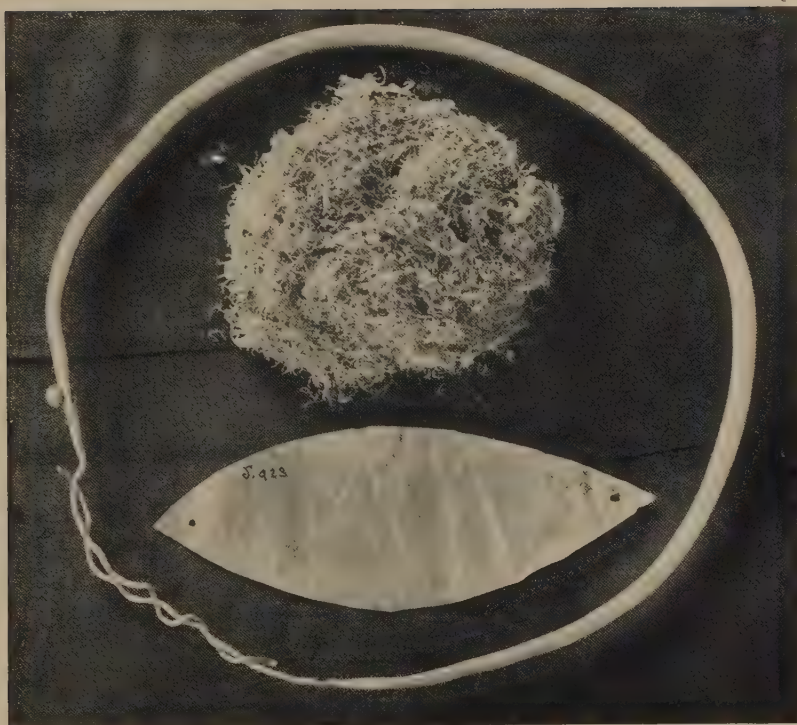
## ‘LOOP PATTERN’ DECORATING LEAD SARCOPHAGI

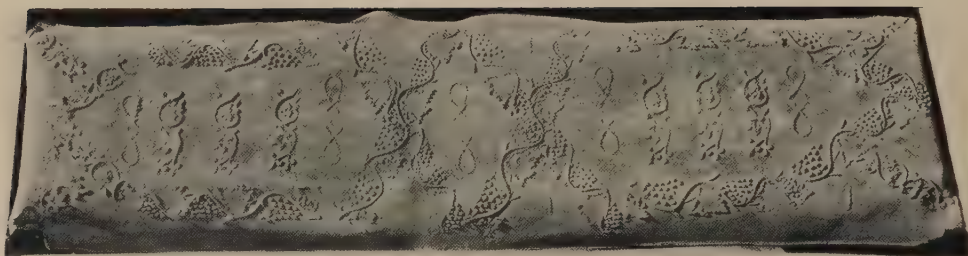
IN November 1926 it was reported that, some years prior to that date, lead sarcophagi had been seen by local inhabitants when digging up stones in a plot of land situated a little east of the hamlet known as Khurbet al-Khasas (about 2 kilometres east of Ascalon). A sounding was consequently made and disclosed the remains of a burial chamber; and, at a depth of about 3 metres, a platform constructed against the southern wall of the chamber. On this platform were fragments of a lead sarcophagus. To the east of this platform the floor was found at a depth of 5 metres. The area of this floor measured approximately 4 metres (north and south) by 2.50 (east and west). In this area three lead sarcophagi were discovered orientated east and west. The two northernmost sarcophagi contained nothing, and their lids were broken; but the southernmost was undamaged. In it the following objects were found: (1) a gold ‘mouthpiece’; (2) a gold necklace; (3) a gold head-band (?); (4) six pieces of gold-foil of looped form; (5) bronze coins of the time of Constantine or a little later, too corroded to be legible; and (6) some gold thread. These objects, with the exception of the coins, are illustrated in Pl. XXVIII, and the sarcophagus itself in Pl. XXIX, 1, 2. The sides of the sarcophagus (which is now in the Palestine Museum) are decorated with a vine pattern; the lid is similarly decorated but has, in addition, a number of rope-like loops of a form resembling that of the gold-foil loops found in the sarcophagus.

In the spring of 1927 another lead sarcophagus (also in the Museum) decorated with similar loop forms was found at Ramallah (Pl. XXIX, 3).

It is suggested that these loop forms may represent bread; and, in support of this suggestion it has been observed that, at the present day, there is a custom among members of the Orthodox Church in Palestine (at such festivals as those of Easter and of the Assumption, and, even more, on the occasion of the weaning of an infant) to make bread in the form of loops with free ends, a form identical with that of the loops decorating the sarcophagi illustrated in Pl. XXIX. Pl. XXX represents examples of the forms in which this bread is made.

E. T. R.

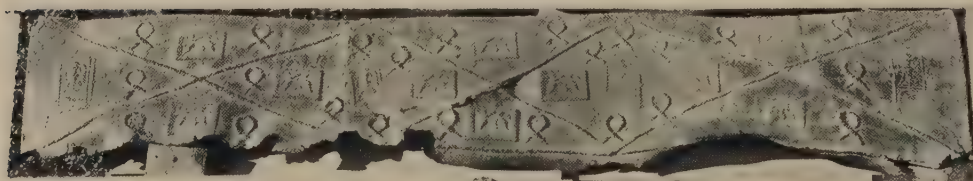




I



2



3



LOOPED BREAD



## SATURA EPIGRAPHICA ARABICA I

UNDER this title we propose to edit from time to time Arabic inscriptions, both unpublished and inadequately published, of which photographs or squeezes have been deposited in the Records Office of the Department of Antiquities.

### NABLUS

Shrine locally known as Shaikh Budrān.

#### I

Inscription <sup>1</sup> over the entrance door. Cf. Plate XXXI, 1.

(1) إِنَّمَا بَعُمَّرَ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ

(2) الْآخِرِ جَدَّدَ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ فِي أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ الْمَلِكِ

(3) الظَّاهِرِ رُكْنَ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ بَيْبَرَسَ عَزَّ اللَّهُ أَنْصَارَهُ بِإِشَارَةِ

الْمَجْلِسِ الْكَبِيرِ جَمَالَ الدِّينِ الدِّمِياطِي بِعَوْنِ اللَّهِ

(4) وَكَانَ النَّازِرُ فِي أَمْرِ هَذِهِ الْعِمَارَةِ الشَّيْخَ عِمَادَ الدِّينِ وَلَدَ

الشَّيْخِ الشَّهِيدِ بَدْرٍ صَاحِبِ هَذَا الضَّرِيحِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ

(5) وَذَلِكَ بِتَأْرِخِ سَنَةِ اثْنَتَيْنِ وَسَبْعِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ مِنَ الْهَجْرَةِ

النَّبَوِيَّةِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ [1 word]

... Qur'an IX. 18 up to: and the last day ... *This mosque was renewed in the days of our lord the Sultan al-Malik az-Zāhir, Rukn ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn Baybars,*

<sup>1</sup> Published by the Rev. Father J. A. Jaussen, *Inscriptions arabes de Naplouse* (BIFAO, t. 27, 1927), No. 9, pp. 96 f. As a new squeeze taken by the Department of Antiquities in 1929 enabled us to establish several names and the date, we have thought advisable to reproduce it here and to publish the inscription for a second time.

may God make his victories glorious, under the direction of the Grand Councillor *ʿJamāl ad-dīn* of *Damietta*, with the help of God. The supervisor of this construction was *Shaikh ʿImād ad-dīn*, son of the late *Shaikh Badr*, whose tomb this is, may God have mercy on him, in the year 672 of the *Hijra* of the Prophet (1273-4) . . .

Line 3. There can be no doubt with regard to the proper reading of the name *Baybars*. The half-round first stroke is misleading, but the *ن* in *أنصاره*, the *ب* in *بشارة* in the same line, and the *ب* in *بدر* in the next line are built in the same way. Furthermore the reading *قد أعز الله أنصاره* besides being out of keeping with the usual wording of this formula, leaves us with an unexplained letter *س* which does not belong to any word in the neighbourhood. At the end of the same line there is the *nisbeh* *الدمياطى*, the middle part of which is quite legibly placed above the *dāl* and the *tā* of this word; by reading it *الدوماني* no account is taken of the *د*, of the vertical stroke of the *ط*, and of the *نى* which has to be written as a separate syllable. The last word but one presents some difficulty as it looks more like *عرف* than like *بعون*, but as the former reading would make no sense, I venture to suggest that in this word, squeezed at the end of the line, the head of the *و* has been cut off.

#### TIBERIAS

Shrine,<sup>1</sup> to the south of the town, marked on the P.E.F. Map (1 : 63,360) Sheet VI. Q.h. *Sitti Sekīneh*.

#### 2

CONSTRUCTION TEXT. 694 A.H. Slab of marble embedded in the western wall of the shrine. Dimensions, measured on squeeze, 93 × 56 cms. Five lines of elegant mamluk *naskhi*, many differentiating signs, some of them in the shape of ornaments filling the intervening spaces.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plate XXXI, 2.

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ . . . إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ

تَطْهِيراً

<sup>1</sup> Other tombs of *Sukaina* are shown at *Damascus* and *Madina*.

<sup>2</sup> *Frei* reported the discovery of this inscription in *Beobachtungen vom See Genezareth* (ZDPV, IX, 1886, p. 88); *J. B. van Kasteren*, *Nachträge und Correspondenzen* (ZDPV, XII, 1889, p. 130) and *Schumacher*, *Von Tiberias zum Hule-See* (ZDPV, XIII, 1890, pp. 65 f.), transcribed portions of lines 2-5, but with many mistakes.

(2) امر بعمارة هذا المشهد المبارك وهو مشهد الست السكينة بنت الحسين بن عليّ بن أبي طالب

(3) وعبد الله بن العباس بن عليّ بن أبي طالب عليهم السلام العبد الفقير لله تعالى

(4) فارس الدين البكي الساقى العادلى المنصورى نائب السلطنة بالمالك

(5) الصفديّة والشقيفيّة والساحليّة وذلك فى غرة شهر رجب سنة اربع وتسعين وستماية

. . . Qur'ān XXXIII. 33. . . . Ordered the building of this blessed shrine of the Lady Sukaina, daughter of Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and of 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon them, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Fāris ad-dīn Iḥbakī, the cup-bearer, (officer) of (al-Malik) al-'Adil and of (al-Malik) al-Manṣūr, Governor of the provinces of Safad, Shaqīf and the Maritime Plain. This (was done) on the 1st Rajab 694 [= 17 May 1295].

3

ENDOWMENT TEXT. Rajab 694–Muḥarram 696 A.H. Slab of marble, embedded in the western wall of the shrine below the previous inscription. Dimensions measured on squeeze, within the frame, 103 × 90 cms. Eight lines of elegant *naskhi* with many differentiating signs, often disguised as ornaments filling the intervening spaces. Unpublished, cf. Plate XXXII, 3.

(I) بسمه . . . هذه الأماكن الموقوفة على مصالح مشهد الست سكينة بيوت بمقتضى ذلك مجلس الحكم

(2) العزيز وهى مجرّ فدانين من أرض طبريّة من جملة ثلاثين فداناً وقطعتا أرض تعرفان بالحرثيتين والأرض

(3) المعروفة بالمنبر وارض تعرف ببستان القسيس وحاكورة تعرف بالقصيل  
وحاكورتان مجاورتان لهذا المشهد

(4) المبارك وحاكورة كرم دار مسرور وقطعتا أرض إحداهما تعرف بالبئر والأخرى  
بالرجم الكبير

(5) وحاكورة تعرف بأم رجم وأرض تعرف بالبستان والذي وقفه العبد الفقير  
الى الله تعالى

(6) الأمير فارس الدين البكى الساقى المنصورى العادلى منشئ هذه العمارة وهى  
(7) جميع بستان الحنّانة المجاور لمدينة طبرية وبحيرتها وحدود ذلك مبينة  
بكتابى الوقف

(8) فَمَنْ بَدَّلَهُ بَعْدَ مَا سَمِعَهُ فَإِنَّمَا إِثْمُهُ عَلَى الَّذِينَ يُبَدِّلُونَهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ  
سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ

. . . These are the sites founded as waqf for the benefit of the shrine of Lady Sukaina according to the decision of the court, viz., two faddans of Tiberias land out of a property containing thirty faddans in all, two pieces of land each known as al-Ḥarithiyya, the land known as al-Minbar, the land known as Bustān al-Qassīs, the garden known as al-Qaṣīl, two gardens in the neighbourhood of this blessed shrine, the garden Karm Dār Masrūr, two pieces of land, one known as al-Bi'r, and the other as ar-Rujm al-Kabīr, a garden known as Umm Rujm, a land known as al-Bustān; and the one who made them a waqf was the servant yearning for God the Exalted, the Amir Fāris ad-dīn Ilbakī, the cup-bearer, (the officer) of (al-Malik) al-Manṣūr and (al-Malik) al-Adīl, founder of this building, (the waqf) consisting of the whole of the Bustān al-Ḥannānah, in the vicinity of the town of Tiberias and its lake. The boundaries of this are made clear in the two waqf deeds. 'But he who alters it after that he has heard it—

*the sin thereof shall be upon those who alter it; verily God doth hear and know'* (Qur'ān II. 177).

The main interest of this inscription is of course of a topographical nature. An investigation conducted on the spot showed that some of these place-names are still known at Tiberias; all identified sites are either within the present city walls, or at a distance not exceeding 2 kms. from the centre of the town. *Al-Ḥarithiyyah* (= track of ploughed land) is a plot of land below the so-called *Qaṣr bint al-Malik*, between the latter and the wadi immediately to the south. *Al-Minbar* (= the pulpit) is near the sea-shore, to the south of the new Government School. *Al-Qaṣīle*, an open space opposite and north of the Governorate, serves to-day as a playground, especially for football. The property known to-day as *Bustān al-Ḥannāneh* (= artificially watered garden) or *Ḥannānet al-Qaṣṣīs*, cannot be identical with the one mentioned in the inscription, as the latter—if I understand rightly—refers to a garden in which the shrine was situated, whereas the *Bustān al-Ḥannāneh* indicated to me by two natives of Tiberias, a shaikh and a broker in lands, was to the north of the town, about a quarter of an hour's walk from the Hotel Tiberias. The garden pointed out to me as *Bustān al-Qaṣṣīs* (= garden of the priest) is evidently modern, the plot of land now so called owing its name to the Scottish Missionary Station. There are several places called *al-Bi'r* (= the well) or *al-Bustān* (= the garden), so that in the absence of more specific details, the places under reference could not be identified.

There is nothing to indicate the exact date of this inscription.

It should be assumed a priori that the two inscriptions are not contemporary, Ilbakī being styled in one as al-ʿĀdilī al-Manṣūrī and in the other as al-Manṣūrī al-ʿĀdilī. The fact that in the first inscription, dated within the reign of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā, the *relatif d'appartenance* al-ʿĀdilī precedes al-Manṣūrī, suggests that the first relative indicates the reigning sultan,<sup>1</sup> and consequently that the second inscription was made under one of the two sultans, called al-Malik al-Manṣūr, who reigned during Ilbakī's lifetime, viz. either Qalāūn or Lājīn. Qalāūn is ruled out, as Ilbakī calls himself in the inscription 'founder of this building' which proves that it was written at least five years after Qalāūn's death, and that the possibility of al-Malik al-Manṣūr referring to Qalāūn and al-Malik al-ʿĀdil to Salāmish need not be considered.

<sup>1</sup> Similar cases in van Berchem, *Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie*, pp. 466, 484; 'Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien' (in *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1903, p. 46); Sobernheim, *Baalbek in islamischer Zeit*, No. X, p. 19; cf. van Berchem, 'Notes III' (in *Journal Asiatique*, 1904, p. 36), but Yalbughā was called an-Nāṣirī al-Ashrafi on a lamp made under al-Ashraf Sha'bān (Wiet, *Lampes*, p. 174, no. 117) and Asandamur was called al-Manṣūrī al-Ashrafi on a coffin made under al-Ashraf Khalil (Ja'far al-Ḥasanī, *Dalīl*, p. 41).

Lājīn seems to be equally ruled out, as Ilbakī fled on the former's accession to the throne and returned only after Lājīn's death. Therefore we shall have to conclude that in cases where there are several *relatifs d'appartenance* their sequence does not necessarily indicate which of them refers to the reigning Sultan, and consequently that in the case under discussion, both inscriptions have been made under Kitbughā.

#### BIOGRAPHY OF ILBAKĪ<sup>1 2</sup>

Fāris ad-dīn Ilbakī b. 'Abdallāh az-Zāhirī,<sup>3</sup> the cup-bearer, dubbed amir under Baybars, held many important offices up to the time of his imprisonment by his master. Qalāūn set him free and appointed him Governor of Safad, a post he held until Lājīn's accession ten years later. Having ill-treated Lājīn while in Safad, Ilbakī fled to Ghāzān (697) whose service he entered. On his return to Syria (699) he was favourably treated by the Sultan, who appointed him Governor of Hims in 700, which office he retained until his death on 8th Dhu-l-Qa'da 702 (24 June 1303).

#### 'ARĀQ AL-MANSHIYYEH

Ruined shrine to the north of the village, marked on the P. E. F. Map (1 : 63,360) Sheet XX. H.v. *Sh. Ahmed el 'Areinī*.

#### 4

FOUNDER'S TEXT, 717 A.H. Slab of limestone embedded in the northern wall of the shrine to the left of the entrance door. Dimensions within the frame measured on squeeze, 40 cms. × 51-2 cms. Elegant provincial mamluk *naskhi*.

<sup>1</sup> Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, Vol. V, pp. 132, 140, 164, 166, 176, 190, ed. Constantinople, IV, pp. 36, l. 16; 38, l. 5 b (from bottom); 44, l. ult.; 45, l. 14; 47-8, 51, l. ult.; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, pp. 47, ll. 9, 17, 19; 48, ll. 2, 25; 55, l. 16; 79, l. 14; 80, l. 9; Mufaddal, ed. Blochet, pp. 438 and n. 1, 444, 455, n. 2, 470, n. 1, 490, n. 1; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 295, 298; Quatremère, *SM*. II b, pp. 222 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, s.v. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 3043, fo. 76r); Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 8r); Weil, IV, 234, 236.

<sup>2</sup> In Zetterstéen, l.c., p. 47, l. 9; 80, l. 9, this name is spelt *الألبكى*; in Ibn Ḥabīb, p. 295 *البكى*; In Ibn Ḥajar, l.c. *البكى*; Blochet, l.c., p. 438, n. 1, remarked that the Persian spelling of this name gives the full form, namely *ایل بیکی*, the name meaning 'très puissant', van Berchem (*MGLA.*, *Jérusalem, Ville*, p. 267, n. 6) explained it as *le prince du pays*.

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confounded with Fāris ad-dīn Ilbakī b. Quṭlūmalak b. 'Abdallāh, Governor of Gaza, and its hinterland (نائب السلطنة بالأعمال الساحلية والجبالية ونائب غزة), who flourished half a century later, cf. Mujir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalil*, II, p. 390, l. 10 b.



FIG. 1. Nablus. Shaikh Budrān. 672 A.H.

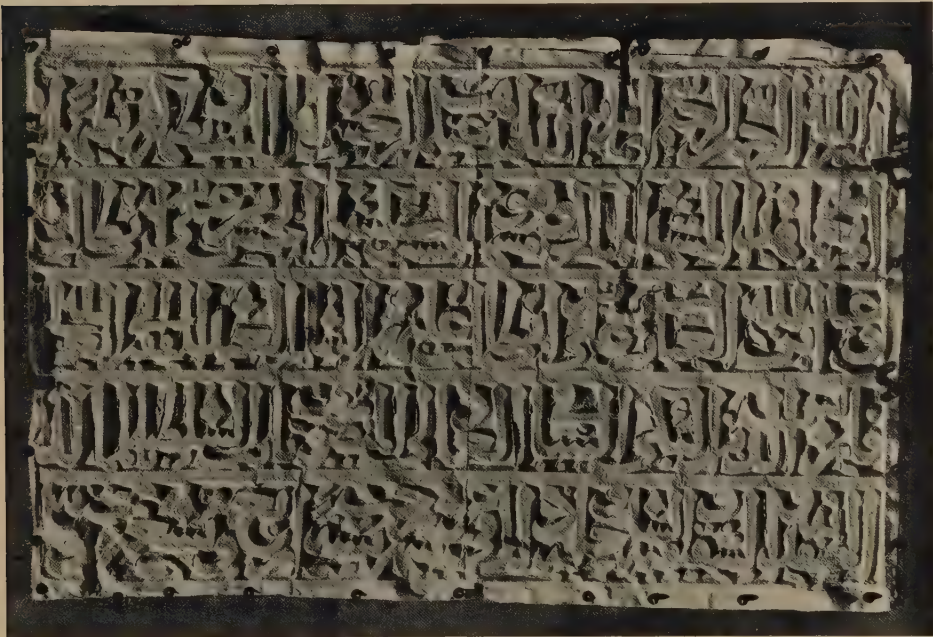


FIG. 2. Tiberias. Sitt Sukaina. 694 A.H.

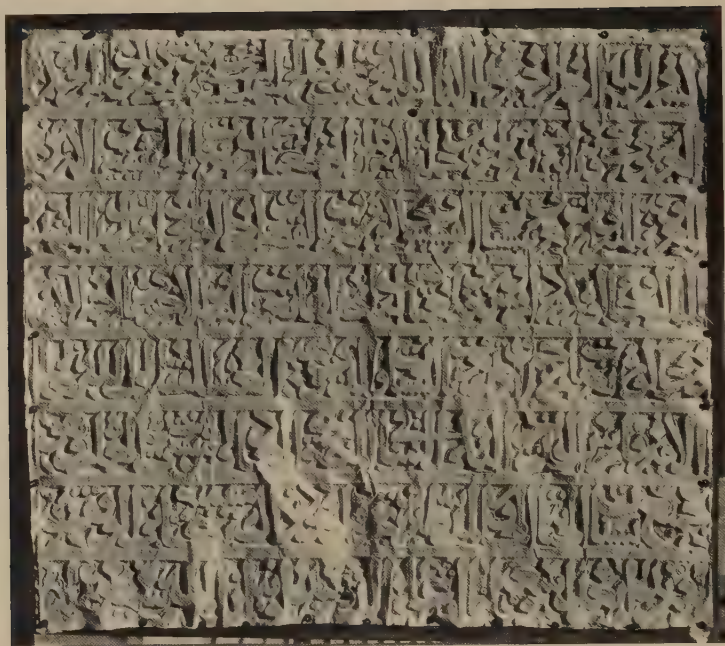


FIG. 3. Tiberias. Sitt Sukaina. 694-696 A.H.

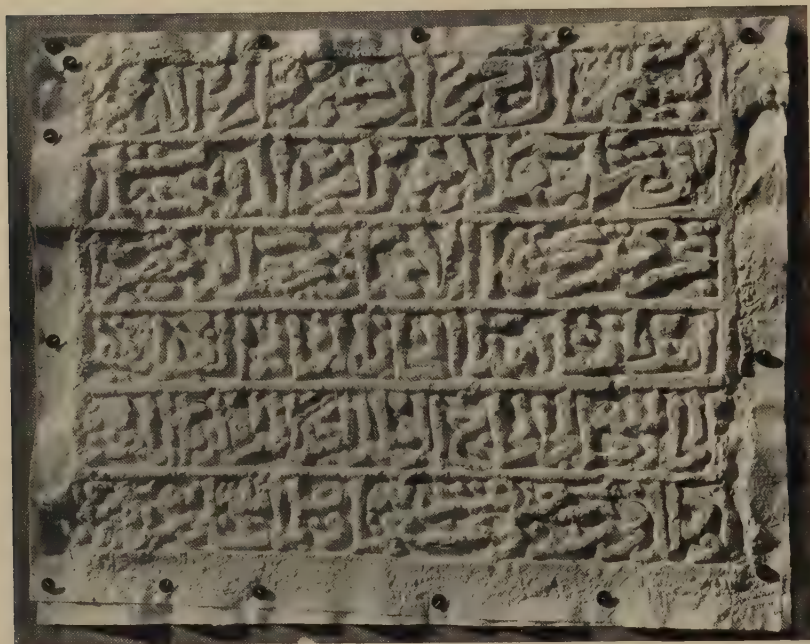


FIG. 4. 'Arâq al-Manshiyyeh: Sh. Aḥmad al-'Arainī. 717 A.H.

Diacritical points almost throughout, a few differentiating signs and filling ornaments partly disguised as vowel-signs. Unpublished; cf. Plate XXXII, 4.

(1) بِسْمِ (١) الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ تَبَارَكَ الَّذِي

(2) إِنْ شَاءَ جَعَلَ لَكَ خَيْرًا مِنْ ذَلِكَ جَنَّاتٍ

(3) تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ وَيَجْعَلَ لَكَ فُصُورًا

(4) أَمْرٍ بِأَنْشَاءِ هَذَا الْخَانِ الْمُبَارَكِ الْعَبْدِ الْفَقِيرِ

(5) إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى الْحَاجِّ أَلْ مَلِكِ أَحَدِ الْأُمَرَاءِ بِالْDIAR AL-MUSRIYYA

(6) وَذَلِكَ فِي سَنَةِ سَبْعَةِ عَشَرَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَسَلَّمَ

... Qur'ān XXV. 11 ... Ordered to build this blessed caravanserai the servant yearning for God, the Exalted, the pilgrim Almalik, one of the amirs in the province of Egypt. This was done in the year 717 (began 16 March 1317) ...

A glance at the ruin shows that the inscription, made to commemorate the erection of a khan, is not in situ. Erected on the top of a mound accessible only by means of a steep path, neither suitable nor wide enough for a caravanserai, the present shrine could never have formed part of such a building, nor could it have been built over the ruins of one. No trace of a khan was found in the village of 'Arāq al-Manshiyyeh, although the latter is situated on the very important road leading from Gaza to Kerak via Bait Jibrin and Hebron. The post stations of this road are well known from various contemporary sources and as 'Arāq al-Manshiyyeh is not mentioned in any one of them I venture to suggest that the above inscription refers to a caravanserai that once existed in the now abandoned Umm al-Laḳis, which, in the Middle Ages, was the nearest post station to 'Arāq al-Manshiyyeh.

Our inscription furnishes us with an additional detail of Almalik's biography.<sup>1</sup> It has hitherto always been assumed that he made only one pilgrimage to Mecca, viz. in 728, and van Berchem pointed this out as the reason why Almalik is not called *ḥājj* in his inscription in Cairo, dated 719. But our present text, written about ten years before Almalik met Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Mecca, shows that he must have made an earlier pilgrimage prior to the end of the year 716.

L. A. M.

<sup>1</sup> Almalik's biography and the reasons for transcribing his name Almalik and not Yl-malak will be found in my *Saracenic Heraldry*, chap. Armorial Roll, s.v.

## A MEDIEVAL ARABIC DESCRIPTION OF THE HARAM OF JERUSALEM

THE first volume of the encyclopaedia *Masālik al-abṣār* by Aḥmad b. Faḍl-Allāh al-ʿUmarī contains descriptions of many important buildings, religious and otherwise, erected before the middle of the fourteenth century. Among others there is a detailed description of the Haram in Jerusalem, to a great extent copied from the *Silsilat al-ʿasjad fi ṣifat aṣ-ṣakhra wa-l-masjid*<sup>1</sup> by the vizier Tāj ad-dīn Abu-l-Faḍā'il Aḥmad b. Amīn al-Mulk and added to from his own observations, made either during several journeys from Cairo to Damascus, or, what is more probable, during his 'small' pilgrimage.<sup>2</sup> As the information contained therein seems to be worthy of being made known to a wider public, an English translation has been attempted, and in order to preserve the character of the original it has been made as literal as possible. All technical terms and words with regard to the translation of which there is any doubt have been accompanied by their Arabic equivalents transcribed within brackets. The translation has been based on Ahmad Zeki Pasha's edition, Cairo, 1924, p. 140 ff., and checked with the manuscript of Oxford (Bodl. MS. Pococke 191).

(140).<sup>3</sup> We will begin with the description of the Noble Rock and the structure surrounding it, and say:

The blessed BUILDING stands in a court paved with polished (*maqūl*) flag-stones; it is 18 ells in height, and above this rises the tambour (*kursiyy al-qubbah*) 10 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells high, with a circumference of 103 and  $\frac{3}{8}$  ells. The drum wall is pierced with 16 gilded glass windows, covered externally with gratings. (The whole building) is octagonal in shape. Each side of the octagon (*tathmīnah*)<sup>4</sup> is 29 and  $\frac{3}{8}$  ells long. On the outside it is covered with white, veined (*mushajjar*) marble to a height of seven ells. Above it, reaching as far as the rain-water spouts, that is, to a height of seven ells, the entire

<sup>1</sup> Mujīr ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, p. 378, l. 13 ff. quoted it under the slightly different title of *Al-ʿasjad fi ṣifat al-aqṣā wa-l-masjid* by Tāj ad-dīn Aḥmad, son of the vizier Amīn ad-dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh, the Hanafi. Tāj ad-dīn (†755) was a contemporary of the author of *Masālik*.

<sup>2</sup> Šafadī, *A'yān* s.v. (MS. Berlin, Codex Wetzstein, II, 298, fo. 20<sup>v</sup>, l. 4) mentions that when the plague made its appearance in Damascus, Ibn Faḍl-Allāh intended to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, but changed his mind and went to Jerusalem, where his wife died. In Dhu-l-Ḥijja 745 he visited Hebron, *Masālik*, p. 170, l. 3 from bottom.

<sup>3</sup> The numbers indicate the pages of the Cairo edition.

<sup>4</sup> This word is used *promiscue* for 'octagon', 'side of an octagon', and 'the octagonal space between the wall and first row of columns', or 'between the first and the second rows of columns'.

surface is covered with gilded, veined mosaics of various designs. Each side of the octagon has 7 windows, 2 blind lateral ones, and 5 of glass, provided on the outer side with iron gratings. Above the rain-water spouts rises a (parapet) wall, 4 ells in height, covered with mosaics, as described above. On each side of the octagon are places for 13 niches (*mihrāb*). The building has four doors: the door to the South is 6 and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ells high, and 3 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{8}$  ells wide. In front of it, outside, is a portico covered with white and veined marbles. It runs in an east-westerly direction, and is 21 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells long, and 4 wide, and has a flat, painted ceiling. The centre, which faces the door, is spanned by an arch, covered with gilt mosaics and supported by eight marble columns, of which the two at the ends are crow-coloured (*ghurābiyy*), four myrtle-green, and two speckled red and white (*shahm wa-lahm*). Between the crow-coloured and the green column is a MARBLE BASIN,<sup>1</sup> 1 and  $\frac{1}{3}$  ells in diameter, decorated on the outside with reliefs. The water drains from the rain-water spouts into this basin.

(141). The doorway mentioned above has two wings plated with yellow copper in relief work. On entering, one walks between wooden railings (*darābzīn*),  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an ell high, which are to be found only at the head of the first side of the octagon. The space measured from the inner edge of the threshold of this door and the columns, of which mention will now be made, is eight and  $\frac{2}{3}$  ells. Above the columns, at a height of 15 ells, a flat ceiling painted in various colours, is borne on the wall of the Dome of the Rock.<sup>2</sup> Inside the octagonal walk the columns and the wall are wholly encased in marble, without mosaics, with much (?) carved and gilded marble, about one ell (high).

The ceiling of each of the sides of the octagon is carried on two piers, encased in veined and beautifully coloured marble. Each of these piers measures eleven and  $\frac{2}{3}$  ells in circumference and eight and  $\frac{2}{3}$  ells in height. The side which faces the Rock has two angles. With each pier are two columns, one speckled red and white, the other myrtle-green. The distance between each pair of columns is five ells, and the girth of each column is two and  $\frac{2}{3}$  ells. Its height above the bases of the columns is six and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells; above it there are tie-beams (*basātil*) encased with yellow copper in relief and gilded over the reliefs. Above the tie-beams rise arches with beautifully gilded mosaics.

This first octagon consists of eight pillars and sixteen columns. Of these, ten are white and blue, three myrtle green, and three speckled red and white.

<sup>1</sup> Which has since disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> The Author, as many others, often uses the word *ṣakhra* (=Rock) for *qubbat aṣ-ṣakhra* (=Dome of the Rock) or *binā' aṣ-ṣakhra* (=the structure surrounding the Rock). This is tacitly put right in the following pages.

The distance from the face of the bases of these columns to the second octagon<sup>1</sup> is ten ells. Thereon rests a ceiling with gilded 'dishes' (*maqālī*). Its height is equal to that of the other ceiling. Because of the dusting of the ceiling the 'dishes' are fixed in place without nails. The roof covered with lead is five ells above the inner ceiling. At the border of this octagon<sup>1</sup> a balustrade<sup>2</sup> runs round the full extent of the dome. The dome rests on four square piers, which, (142) like the former, are encased in marble. Between each pair of piers there are three columns of speckled red and white, and myrtle-green marbles. Above them rise arches, covered on both sides with gilt mosaics, and on the soffits (*al-bāṭin*) with white and black marble. The dome is carried in all by twelve columns, seven of which are myrtle-green, and five speckled red and white.

He said: I have measured one of these columns; it was speckled red and white. Its girth was three and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells, and its height above the bases of the columns seven and  $\frac{3}{4}$  ells.

From the apex of the gilt wooden dome to the outer surface of the Noble Rock it is 47 ells, and from the outer surface of the Rock to the floor of the cave six ells. From the outer surface of the wooden dome to the second lead-covered dome it is one and a half ells.

He said: I have measured the girth of the tambour supporting the dome on columns and piers, and it was 103 ells.

Description of the IRON SCREEN between the columns and piers. It has four doors; the North door is locked, the remaining three are open. The South door is gained by ascending two steps. From the inner edge of the threshold of this door to the face of the Rock the distance is 4 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ells. The part of the Rock on this side is encased in coloured marble to a height of 2 ells. The Rock is enclosed on all sides by a carved wooden railing. Its circumference is 74 ells. At the end of this marble-clad Rock, on the north-western side, there lies a small stone, borne on six small columns. It was said that it was the footprint of the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, left on the night of his ascent to heaven. Opposite the said foot (-print) there is a mirror of seven metals, called the 'Buckler of Ḥamza'.<sup>3</sup> It is supported on three fine columns, two of which are twisted (*rūḥān fī jasad*).

(143). The height of the iron screen is 4 and  $\frac{3}{4}$  ells. Over it stretches a

<sup>1</sup> This is in reality not an octagon, but a circle.

<sup>2</sup> It is evident from the description that the gallery between the tambour and the dome is meant.

<sup>3</sup> This is a very interesting confirmation of Clermont-Ganneau's theory (*Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, I, p. 220), since accepted by everybody, that the 'buckler' was in reality a mirror. On the other hand his statement (*ibid.*, p. 219 n.) that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was the earliest author to mention the 'buckler' must be revised.

longish panel of painted wood. Above the panelling iron candlesticks are ranged.

The niche in which the prayer-leader of the Dome of the Rock prays lies to the right as one enters from the South gate, on the inside of the wooden railing mentioned above. Opposite the prayer-niche lies the entrance-door to the CAVE of the Noble Rock, spanned by an arch of fine marble, supported on two pillars like wax-candles (*sham'iyy*). Fourteen steps lead down into the Cave, the interior of which measures 10 ells in length east-west, and 7 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells in width north-south.

The entire floor of the Dome of the Rock and of the Cave is covered with marble flags.

In the interior of the said Cave there are two prayer-niches, one to the right, and one to the left. Each of the prayer-niches is flanked by two fine marble columns. In front of the right-hand prayer-niche there is a bench called 'Place of al-Khiḍr' (i.e. the prophet Elijah). The length of this bench from east to west is 1 and  $\frac{3}{8}$  ells, and from south to north 2 and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ells. Opposite the bench there is a marble column which reaches to the ceiling, and a diagonally placed column which leans against the wall of the cave. In the northern angle of the cave there is a bench, cut in the rock, called 'Place of the Friend' (i.e. Abraham). Its depth from south to north is 1 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells; from east to west 1 and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ells.

THE EAST GATE of the Dome of the Rock consists of two doors, one within the other. The outer door was made to protect the inner against rain and snow. The doorway is covered with marble. The space between the two doors is 4 and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ells in width, and the portico 12 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells in length.

To the right, as one leaves, there is a room for the gate-keeper; in it is a niche carried by three beautiful columns. To the left, as one leaves, there is a room for the candles, carried on four myrtle-green and blue columns.

(144). The vaulted ceiling between the doors is covered with gilded mosaics. From the threshold of the second door to the columns it is 7 and  $\frac{3}{8}$  ells. This gateway carries a flat roof.

From the outer face of the columns to the iron screen there are 11 ells. From the inside of the iron screen to the wooden railing which protects the Rock are 4 and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ells. And from the edge of this eastern gate, to the left as one enters, there stand, at a distance of 9 ells, in a southerly direction, two myrtle-green columns. Over them a gilded *duḡaisiyy* through which one ascends the roof of the Dome of the Rock, and the dome.

THE NORTH GATE is called the Gate of Paradise. Like the East Gate it has a portico. It is also of the same structure, and shows the same decoration.

Between the two pillars, in front of the gate, inside the gilded wooden railing, there stands a beautiful prayer-niche to indicate the black marble slab at which the people pray. This marble slab was long ago lost and replaced by a slab of green marble. And the people worship and pray there(at).

THE WEST GATE has a portico, like the East gate and the North Gate. The distance between the octagons of the Dome of the Rock from the inside is the same as that from the North Gate (to the Rock), less the distance from the iron screen to the wooden railing of the Dome of the Rock, namely 6 and  $\frac{2}{3}$  ells. So much for the description of the Rock and of the octagonal structure surrounding it.

THE COURT surrounding the structure is paved in its entirety with splendid polished flagstones. Its length North and South is 229 ells. Its width East and West is 223 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells. (145). And the distance between the portico to the South of the South door of the Dome of the Rock and the top step of the flight of steps leading to the Mosque, is 53 ells; and from the top step to the threshold of the Mosque it is 150 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ells.

At the head of this flight of steps there are four ARCHES which are carried on three columns and two masonry piers. Of these, two columns are of red flint,<sup>1</sup> the one in the centre of white marble with a square recess.

History books say that a prayer offered up at this spot is answered.

To the East of these arches, at a distance of 40 ells, there are similar arches with two myrtle-green columns. And between these two arches, at the lower level of the Haram, there is a large platform (*suffah*) called the 'Ramp of the Seven Steps'. This platform is said to be the trysting-place of the pious and the pilgrims by night, who kneel down upon it in prayer.

At the side of the first of the arches mentioned above, there is a painted PRAYER-NICHE flanked on either side by a fine marble column. In its western supporting-pier there are two marble cupolas, one above the other, each of them formed of a single piece, called the 'Dome of the Balance' (*qubbat al-mīzān*), carried on 12 columns of marble speckled red and white, and resting on 'waxen' bases. The cupola thereon resembles the cupola mentioned, 8 and  $\frac{2}{3}$  ells in height. The lower column is 2 and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ells high, the upper 1 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ells. The cupola is also known under the name of 'Dome of the Secret Discourse.'

In the south-western corner of the Court there is a place known under the name of the MU'AZZAMIYYAH SCHOOL. Its external length is 34 ells, and its width from South to North 7 ells. It has two doors which open to the North.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. E. T. Richmond suggests that here (and also on page 50) مَوَان is a textual error for الاسوانى (= الاسوانى) i.e. the granite of Assuan.

At both sides of them stand three marble columns, each column consisting of four tiny twisted (*arba'ah fī jasad wāḥid*) and ringed (*malfūfah mutha'banah*) columns.<sup>1</sup> Adjoining them are two fine columns. The height of the building measured from the ground of the court of the Dome of the Rock is 9 ells. Through the two above-mentioned doors one enters a hall, whose length is 18 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells, and the width 6 ells, and which has a gilded Syrian ceiling of 13 square (ells). In its South façade there are three windows which look on to the Haram and the Gates of the Mosque.

On its western side is a domed room on arches. The South, North, and West sides have three windows each. On its eastern<sup>2</sup> side an entrance-door from the above-mentioned hall, and a window giving on to this hall. On its eastern side there is a domed room more beautiful than the other. It serves as a living-room for the Imām and for the locum tenens, and as a store-room for oil.

Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam provided a single Imām for this school to recite the five prayers. He also provided 25 men from among the students of grammar, and a Shaikh, on condition that they be Hanafis and pupils of his school outside the Haram. For the benefit of this institution he endowed a village, called Bait Liqīā, in the Jerusalem district, as waqf. On its ceiling it is recorded that in the year 608<sup>3</sup> he was engaged in erecting the building. In front of the northern window-gratings in the West dome of this hall, at a distance of about 5 ells, there is a vaulted passage with 17 steps, each step 1 ell in width, through which one descends into the lower part of the Haram. In front of the eastern dome of this hall there is a bench with a carved marble slab, which serves as a clock to tell the hours of the day. Its length from east to west is 2 and  $\frac{2}{3}$  ells, its depth 1 and  $\frac{1}{3}$  ells, and its height 1 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells.

(147). Opposite this school, in the East corner of the court, there stands a beautiful domed chamber, whitened on the outside as a CELL for one of the PROFESSORS of the Haram. The door of the cell faces north. All three sides have a window each, giving on to the Haram.

At the West and North wall of this court there are TWO PLATFORMS, one of which is spanned by a dome in the West, the other by a dome in the North. Over it, a roof resting on two marble columns on which the prayer-leaders say the five prayers.

<sup>1</sup> Little is left to-day of the original façade of which a photograph had been published by Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, Pl. 5b; Courtellemont, *Jérusalem*, p. 48; and a drawing by Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Jérusalem, Haram*, No. 155, p. 61, fig. 11. Cf. also Schick, *Tempelplatz*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> In the Cairo edition, by mistake: *western*.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1211-12. In the inscription published by van Berchem l.c., p. 61 ff. a different date is given, namely 604 (1207-8), recorded also by Mujir ad-din, l.c., p. 386, l. 5.

From the threshold of the East door to the flight of steps—the end of the paved court of the Dome of the Rock in an easterly direction—it is 76 ells.

At the top of this flight of steps there are five arches spanned over four columns and two pillars, at the south and north sides of which there are two CELLS, intended for the poor who live, pray and meditate in the Haram. The arch of this arcade is 10 ells high, being the same height as the arches over the other (flights of) steps. There remain three arches which are open and through which one reaches the flight of steps called the BURĀQ STEPS. There are 36 steps.

Between the first step of this flight of steps to the east wall it is 156 and  $\frac{1}{3}$  ells.

It is 5 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  ells from the outer door of the east entrance to the DOME OF THE CHAIN. This dome is carried on 12<sup>1</sup> columns, myrtle-green and speckled red and white. The height of the columns above their bases is 3 and  $\frac{1}{3}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{8}$  ells. The height of its roof, which is flat and covered with lead, is 8 ells.

(148). The entire intermediate space between the columns is left open<sup>2</sup> (*makhrūq*). Between the columns there are supports (*muttakāyah*) of smoothly polished flint, only a hand's breadth (in height). The length of each of these (supporting pieces) is 4 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells, and the width between the two columns of the prayer-niche 5 ells. The prayer-niche is lined with coloured marble. At both sides of the prayer-niche there are two columns of white marble. Above these columns there are arches covered with gilded and green varicoloured mosaics. The height of these arches is 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  ells, their breadth from the prayer-niche to the end is 18 ells. In the interior of this domed chamber there is a dome, carried on six myrtle-green and red columns flecked with white. The space between the columns is 4 ells, the diameter of the dome 8 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells. Above the columns rise arches set with mosaics. Their height is 4 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells, and the wooden dome rises above them.

From the north door of the Dome of the Rock, called the Door of Paradise, to the end of the court which surrounds the Dome of the Rock, that is, to the three arches which rest on the two marble columns and the two piers, it is 108 ells. (149). Through these arcades one goes down eight steps into the Haram. In front of this flight of steps there is a longish flagged walk 5 and  $\frac{1}{4}$

<sup>1</sup> In reality there are only eleven.

<sup>2</sup> In the Arabic original *maḥrūq* (burnt down) which does not make sense. The above translation is based on a suggestion made by Omar Eff. Salih al-Barghuti of Jerusalem.

ells wide, which ends in a northerly direction at the Haram gate known under the name of 'The Gate of the Honour of the Prophets'. The length of this walk is 178 ells. This gate, God willing, will be described in the mention of the gates of the Haram.

To the right and to the left of this arcade, at the North end of the court, there are TWO PLATFORMS. Both of them, measured from East to West, are 8 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells long, and from South to North 2 and  $\frac{2}{3}$  ells wide. People pray on both platforms.

*Translated by L. A. M.*

*(To be continued.)*

## NOTES

The High Commissioner laid the Foundation Stone of the Palestine Archaeological Museum on 19 June 1930.

During the present year excavations have been conducted at the following sites:

*Ain Shams (Beth Shemesh)* by Dr. Elihu Grant for Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

*Baisan (Beth Shean)* by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald for the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

*Magharat al-Wad (Wadi al-Maghara, near Athlit)* (prehistoric cave site) by Miss D. A. E. Garrod for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

*Magharet al-Zuttiyyeh* and the *Dolmen field* S.E. of Kerazeh, and N. of Tall Hum by Mr. F. Turville-Petre for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

Caves on the *Mount of Olives* and at *al-'Isawiyyeh* by Dr. E. L. Sukenik for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

*Tall Bait Mersem* by Professors W. F. Albright and M. G. Kyle for the Xenia-Pittsburgh Theological Seminary and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

*Tall al-Far'a* and *Tall al-Ajjul (near Gaza)* by Professor Sir Flinders Petrie, assisted by Mr. Starkey, for the British School of Egyptian Archaeology.

*Tall al-Mutasallem (Megiddo)* by Mr. P. L. O. Guy for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

*Tall al-Sultan (Old Jericho)* by Professor J. Garstang for the Institute of Archaeology, University of Liverpool.

A clearance of the ruins of the Crusaders' Castle at 'Athlit has been begun by the Department of Antiquities, with a view to making records and taking measures for conservation.



